Y 423. Herrep



Thomas Cartwright of Aynho in
The County of Northampton, Esq.r
1698


ex LIBRIS
איוב
Except the Lord build
the house they Labour
in vain that build it
Lawrence Lande



Sr Fulwar Skipwith of Newbold
Hall in the County of Warwick
Baronet 1704


A New Discovery of a Large
Country in AMERICA by Father
Lewis Hennepin

A

New Discovery

OF A

Vast Country in AMERICA,

Extending above Four Thousand Miles,

BETWEEN

New France *and* New Mexico;

WITH A

Description of the Great *Lakes*, *Cataracts*, *Rivers*, *Plants*, and *Animals*.

Also, the *Manners*, *Customs*, and *Languages* of the several Native *Indians*; and the Advantage of Commerce with those different Nations.

WITH A

CONTINUATION,

Giving an ACCOUNT of the Attempts of the Sieur *De la SALLE* upon the Mines of *St. Barbe*, &c. The Taking of *Quebec* by the *English*; With the Advantages of a Shorter Cut to *China* and *Japan*.

Both Parts Illustrated with *Maps*, and *Figures*, and Dedicated to His Majesty K. *William*.

By *L. Hennepin*, now Resident in *Holland*.

To which are added, Several *New Discoveries* in *North-America*, not publish'd in the *French* Edition.

LONDON, Printed for *M. Bentley*, *J. Tonson*, *H. Bonwick*, *T. Goodwin*, and *S. Manship*. 1698.

TO

His most Excellent Majesty

WILLIAM III.

King of Great Britain, *&c.*

SIR,

THis Account of the greatest DISCOVERY that has been made in this Age, of several Large Countries, situate between the *Frozen Sea* and *New Mexico*, I make bold humbly to Dedicate to your Majesty. Having liv'd Eleven Years in the *Northern America*, I have had an Opportunity to penetrate farther into that Unknown Continent than any before me; wherein I have discover'd New Countries, which may be justly call'd the *Delights of that New World*.

They are larger than *Europe*, water'd with an infinite number of fine Rivers, the Courſe of one of which is above 800 Leagues long, ſtock'd with all ſorts of harmleſs Beaſts, and other Things neceſſary for the Conveniency of Life; and bleſs'd with ſo mild a Temperature of Air, that nothing is there wanting to lay the Foundation of one of the Greateſt Empires in the World.

I ſhould think my ſelf very happy, and ſufficiently rewarded for my Laborious Travels, if they could any ways contribute to make thoſe Countries better known, under the Glorious Name of Your Majeſty; and if through Your Royal Protection I might ſerve as Guide to your Subjects, to carry into thoſe Parts the Light of the Goſpel, and the Fame of your Heroical Virtues: My Name would be bleſs'd amongſt thoſe numerous Nations, who live without Laws and Religion, only becauſe no body endea-

vours to instruct them; and they would have the Happiness of being converted to the Christian Faith, and the Advantage of seeing at the same time, their Fierceness and rude Manners softned and civiliz'd, by the Commerce of a Polite and Generous Nation, rul'd by the most Magnanimous King in the World.

This Enterprize is worthy of Your Majesty, who never frames but Noble Designs, and pursues them with such a Prudence and Vigour, that they are always crown'd with a Glorious Success.

I dare not presume to give here a particular Account of what Your Majesty's unparallell'd Valour and Prudence have done for the Felicity of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the *United Provinces*; the Happiness of your Kingdoms, and the Mildness of Your Majesty's Government, proclaim that Truth to all the World, as also the Tranquillity of the *United Nether-*

lands, amidst a dreadful War, which ravages most Parts of *Europe*. Your Majesty drove back a formidable Enemy, who had penetrated into their very Heart, and keeps him since at such a distance, that they have nothing to fear from his Ambitious Designs.

The rest of *Europe* is no less indebted to Your Majesty than your own Kingdoms and the *United Netherlands*; for Your Majesty exposes every Year your Life, at the Head of your Armies and theirs, to protect their Country and preserve their Liberties from a fatal Invasion. The Allies know, and own with Gratitude, That Your Majesty's Prudence, and the great Respect which so many Princes have for your Personal Merit, are the only Cement that was able to maintain the Great Alliance, into which *Europe* is enter'd for its Preservation.

Your Majesty's Glorious Atchievements being a Theme above my Pen,

I must not presume to speak of them; but my Religion obliges me to mention what I have seen with my own Eyes, and publish to all the World, That I have seen Your Majesty *Preserving*, with the utmost Care, *Our Churches* in the *Netherlands*, while *Others*, who, by a Principle of Conscience, were oblig'd to Protect them, left them expos'd to the Insolence of their Soldiers, violating in the face of the Sun the Respect all Christians owe them.

It is this great Generosity and Equity of your Majesty, as much as your other incomparable Exploits, which have gain'd you the Esteem and the Hearts of all Christian Princes, one alone excepted; and have engag'd the King of *Spain* my lawful Sovereign, the most Catholick Prince in the World, to make so strict an Alliance with Your Majesty.

That Great Monarch being too remote from the *Netherlands* to defend his

his Dominions, has found in Your Majesty a Valiant and Trusty Defender; who being seconded by the Invincible Elector of *Bavaria*, protects the *Spanish* Dominions against a Prince, who makes all Possible Efforts to deprive his Catholick Majesty thereof, notwithstanding their Proximity of Blood, and his professing the same Religion.

His Catholick Majesty having therefore so often experienc'd, that Your Majesty's Royal Word is more firm than other Princes Treaties and Solemn Oaths, could not also but leave his Dominions to your Disposal; shewing by that unparallell'd Piece of Trust, how much he relies upon Your Majesty's Honour, and what Esteem he has for your Royal Vertues, which are mix'd with no manner of Imperfections.

I don't question but many, out of Envy or Malice, will blame me for entring into Your Majesty's Service; but

but I care very little for what they say, since it is by the Permission of his Catholick Majesty, the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the Superiours of my Order. I design to keep the Integrity of my Faith, and serve faithfully the Great Monarch who has honour'd me with his Royal Protection. I owe my Services to the Generous Protector of my Country, and of our Altars, who besides has so kindly receiv'd me at his Court, while other Princes neglected me, or forbad me their Presence. It is then out of Gratitude, that I devote my self to Your Majesty's Service, and in order to contribute to the Conversion of the several Nations I have discover'd, and to the Advantage of your Subjects, if they will improve this Opportunity, and make Plantations in a Country, which is so fertile as to afford Two Crops every Year.

The Gentleman with whom I began this Discovery, had form'd great Designs,

Designs, and especially upon the Mines of St. *Barbe* in *New Mexico*; but his Tragical Death prevented their execution.

I humble beseech Your Majesty to accept this Publick Mark of my Respect and Gratitude; having pray'd the Almighty for the Preservation of Your Sacred Majesty's Person, and the Prosperity of your Reign, I beg leave to subscribe my self, with all the Submission and Respect imaginable,

SIR,

Your MAJESTY's

Most Humble, most Faithful, and

Most Obedient Servant,

F. Louis Hennepin,

Missionary Recollect.

THE PREFACE.

I *Present here the Reader with the First Part of the Account of the Voyage I made from the Year* 1679, *to the Year* 1682, *in the Northern* America; *in which I discover'd a Country, unknown before me, as large or larger than* Europe. *I had resolved long ago to oblige the Publick with it; but my Resolution was prevented by some Reasons, which it would be too long to relate.*

'Tis true, I publish'd part of it in the Year 1684, *in my Account of* Louisiana; *Printed at* Paris *by Order of the* French *King; but I was then oblig'd to say nothing of the Course of the River* Meschasipi, *from the Mouth of the River of the* Illinois *down to the Sea, for fear of disobliging* M. la Salle, *with whom I began my Discovery. This Gentleman wou'd alone have the Glory of having discover'd the Course of that River: But when he heard that I had done it two Years before him, he could never forgive me, tohugh, as I have said, I was so modest*

deſt as to publiſh nothing of it. This is the true cauſe of his Malice againſt me, and of all the barbarous Uſage I have met with in France; which they carry'd ſo far, as to oblige the Marquis de Louvois to command me to depart the French King's Dominions; which I did willingly, tho' I ſaw ſufficient Grounds to believe this Order was forg'd after Monſieur de Louvois was dead.

The pretended Reaſons of that violent Order, were, becauſe I refuſed to return in-America, where I had been already Eleven Years; tho' the particular Laws of our Order oblige none of us to go beyond-Sea againſt their Will. I would have however return'd very willingly, had I not ſufficiently known the Malice of M. la Salle, who won'd have expos'd me, to make me periſh, as he did one of the Men who accompany'd me in my Diſcovery. God knows, that I am ſorry for his unfortunate Death; but the Judgments of the Almighty are always juſt; for that Gentleman was kill'd by one of his own Men, who were at laſt ſenſible that he expos'd them to viſible Dangers, without any Neceſſity, and for his private Deſigns.

I preſented ſome time after a Petition to the French King, while he was encamp'd at Harlemont in Brabant, ſetting forth my Services, and the Injuſtice of my Enemies; but that Prince had ſo many Affairs,

that

that, I ſuppoſe, they hinder'd him from conſidering my Petition; and ſo I cou'd obtain no Satisfaction. I continu'd ſince at Goſſeliers *and* Aeth; *and juſt as they were raiſing another Perſecution againſt me, the Divine Providence brought me acquainted with Mr.* Blathwait, *Secretary of War to his Majeſty* William the Third, *King of* Great Britain; *who, by Order of His Majeſty, wrote a Letter to Father* Payez, *General Commiſſary of our Order at* Louvain, *to deſire him to give me leave to go* Miſſionary *into* America, *and to continue in one of the United Provinces, till I had digeſted into Order the* Memoires *of my Diſcovery. This General Commiſſary being informed that the King of* Spain, *and the Elector of* Bavaria *conſented that I ſhou'd enter into the Service of His Majeſty of* Great Britain, *granted me what I deſir'd, and ſent me to* Antwerp, *to take there in our Convent a Lay-Habit; and from thence I went into* Holland, *having receiv'd ſome Money from Mr.* Hill, *by Order of Mr.* Blathwait.

I deſign'd to live at Amſterdam *for ſome time; but ſome Reaſons oblig'd me to go to* Utrecht, *where I finiſh'd this Firſt Volume of the Account of my Diſcovery; which I hope will prove advantageous to* Europe,

and

and especially to the English *Nation, to whose Service I entirely devote my self.*

I cannot sufficiently acknowledge the Favours of Mr. Blathwait, *who has so generously provided for my Subsistence, and did me the Honour to present me to His Majesty before his Departure for* England. *I am also very much oblig'd to the Duke of* Ormond, *and the Earl of* Athlone, *for the Civilities I have receiv'd from them: They have often admitted me to their Table, and granted several Protections in* Flanders *upon my Recommendation.*

I hope the Reader will be pleas'd with the Account of my Discovery; not for the Fineness of the Language, and the Nobleness of the Expression, but only upon Account of its Importance, and of the Sincerity wherewith 'tis written. The Bookseller has added a Map, and some other Cutts, which are an Ornament to the Book, and very useful for the better understanding of it.

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North

South

West

East

French Leagues
25 50 75 100 125 150

English Miles
75 150 225 300 375 450

260 265 270 275 280 285 290 295 300 305 310

60 55 50 45 40 35 30 25

Hudsons Bay
Brador
New France or Canada
New Mexico
Florida
Part of New Spain
Gulfe of Mexico
Great Villages of the Iroquois
Virginia
New Netherlands
New England
Gaspesie

Lake of the Assenipoils
Chonigaskaby or Nation of strong men
Lakes of Lice
Port Nelson
Cape Henrietta Maria
Lake Piscoutagamy
English Habitations
Lake Timagaming
The 7 Ilands
Outoulibis or Fort to stop the Assenipoils
Lake St Ioseph
Lake Changas Keton
Nadoussans
Issati
Tinthonha or Nation of the Beadoios
Acoutamiskan
Lake of Tibitibis
Tadousac
St Laurence or Canada Riv
Michipicoten R
Cristinaux
Lake Mipising
St Johns Lake
R St Francis
Fall
Fall of St Anthony
Contcau
Lake of Providence
Portage
The upper Lake
The Leapers
Quebec
Ist of Orleans
Outtaouats Missillimakinac
Cantolon
R Outtaouack
The French River
Lake St Peter
Pintagouet
R of Oxen
Lake Huron
Lake of Tears
The Illinois
Black R
Hurons
Lake Champlain or Irronois
Mountl
Fall St Lewis
Lake Naroa
Cape Puans
Portage
Kitchiga
Poutouatacous
Ocitagan
Kikapaus
Orisconing R
Lake of the Illinois
Lake Ontario or Frontenac
Small Fall
Village of the Frontenac Fort
Long Sault
I. Melic
Agnies
Hurons
Mascoutens
Lake St Claire
Cape St Francis
Tegarondies
Isonnontouans
Lake Erie or of the Cat
Erieckronons
Boston
London
Bristol
Plimouth
Holland
Malabar
Quinebequi R
Orange
New York
Philadelphia
Pensylvania
Petenoc
Long I.
C. May
Zud R
Pouhatan
Chesapeak Bay
Apalachin
Ouye R
Hills
Carolina
C. Trafalgar
Coca
Edelano
Tascaluca
Yitacucho
St Mathew
St Austin
Cape Canaueral
Bahama
Bimini
Lucayes
Cape Florida
Canal of Bahama
C. Agnada
Cape Carlos
Port Grande
Bay of Spirito Sancto
Mouth of the Meschasipi
Quoaquis
River of Magdalen
Mines of St Barbe
Sablonniere R
Quinipissa
The Corpa
Miens R
Taensa
Coenis
Akansa
Ouma R
Chiquacha
Tamaroa R
Cape St Anthony
Massourites
Otenta R
Illinois R
Fall of Pilcamoues
Fort of Crevecoeur
Cole Mine
Fort of Miamis
Portage
Missisipi
Chicagua R
Hoho R
Akansa
Coenis
Mexico
Part of New Spain

A

New Discovery

OF A

Country greater than *EUROPE*;

Situated in America, *betwixt* New-Mexico *and the* Frozen-Sea.

The Occasion of undertaking this Voyage.

MEN are never weary of contemplating those Objects that are before their Eyes, because they discover a thousand ravishing Excellencies therein, capable to afford 'em both Satisfaction and Instruction. The Wonders they there meet with, are so surprising, and (as it were) enchanting, that they are necessarily engaged to survey the same with all possible Exactness, in order to satisfie their natural Curiosity, and inform their Minds.

The Condition of Travellers is very near the same. They're never weary of making new Discoveries. They're indefatigable in rambling through unknown Countries and Kingdoms not mention'd

in History; feasting their Minds with the Satisfaction of gratifying and enriching the World with something unheard of, and whereof they had never any Idea before. 'Tis true, such Enterprizes expose 'em to infinite Fatigue and Danger: But herewith they solace themselves, and persevere to suffer all with Pleasure in that they hope to contribute thereby both to the publick Good, and to the glory of God, while at the same time they are gratifying their own natural Inclinations; and hence it is, they are so powerfully bent to make these Discoveries, to seek out strange Countries and unknown Nations, whereof they had never before heard of.

Those whose Aim in undertaking Voyages, is to enlarge the Bounds of Christ's Kingdom, and advance the Glory of God, do upon that Prospect alone valiantly venture their Lives, making 'em of no Account. They endure the greatest Fatigues, and traverse the most unpassable Ways and horrid Precipices, in order to the Execution of their Designs; being push'd on by the Hopes they entertain of Promoting by these means the Glory of him who created 'em, and under whose Conduct they undertake such toilsome Voyages.

It's usual to see some undaunted Men boldly encounter the most frightful of Deaths, both in Battles and in dangerous Voyages: they are such as are not discouraged by all the Hazards that surround 'em either by Sea or Land; nothing being able to withstand the Valour and Courage that prompts 'em to attempt any thing. Therefore is it, that we oft-times see 'em succeed in obtaining their Designs, and compassing their most difficult Enterprizes. Yet it's to be acknowledg'd, that if they took a serious View before hand, of the Perils they're about to encounter, and consider'd 'em in cold Blood, they would perhaps find Difficulty to persuade themselves into such resolute Thoughts; at least, they would not

not form their Designs after such a daring and fearless manner. But generally speaking, they do not survey their Dangers beforehand, any otherwise than by the Lump, and with a transient View; and having once set their Hands to the Work, Occasion engages 'em insensibly, and entices 'em further on than they cou'd have believ'd at first. Insomuch that many of the great Discoveries owing to Voyages, are rather the Result of Chance, than any well form'd Design.

Something of the same Nature has happen'd to my self in the Discovery I now bring to Light. I was from my Infancy very fond of Travelling; and my natural Curiosity induc'd me to visit many Parts of *Europe* one after another. But not being satisfied with that, I found my self inclin'd to entertain more distant Prospects, and was eager upon seeing remoter Countries and Nations that had not yet been heard of; and in gratifying this natural Itch, was I led to this Discovery of a vast and large Country, where no *European* ever was before my self.

'Tis true indeed, I could not foresee the Embarassing Difficulties and Dangers I must of necessity encounter with in this my painful Voyage. Nay, perhaps the very Thoughts of 'em might have discourag'd and scar'd me from attempting a Design so laborious and toilsome, and environ'd with such frightful Difficulties. But maugre all these Discouragements, I've at length perfected my Design, the Undertaking of which was enough to frighten any other but my self. In which I've satisfy'd my Desires, both in regard to the curiosity I had to see new Countries, and strange Faces; and also upon the Account of my Resolution to employ and dedicate my self to the Glory of God, and the Salvation of Souls.

Thus it was that I discover'd a wonderful Country never known till now; of which I here give an am-

ple Deſcription; and (as I think) circumſtantiated enough: It being divided into ſeveral ſmall Chapters, for the Conveniency of the Reader. I hope the Publick will return me Thanks for my Pains, becauſe of the Advantage that may accrue to it by the ſame. However the World's Approbation ſhall ſufficiently recompenſe all the Trouble and Dangers I've gone through.

I am not inſenſible of the Reflections I ſhall meet with from ſuch as never dar'd to travel themſelves, or never read the Hiſtories of the Curious and Brave, who have given Relations of the ſtrange Countries they have taken upon them to ſee; I doubt not but that ſort of Cattle will account of this my Diſcovery as being falſe and incredible. But what they ſay ſhall not trouble me much: They themſelves were never Maſters of the Courage and Valour which inſpires Men to undertake the glorious Enterprizes that gain 'em Reputation in the World, being confin'd within narrow Bounds, and wanting a Soul to atchieve any thing that can procure 'em a diſtinguiſhing and advantageous Character among Men. It were better therefore for ſuch to admire what they cannot comprehend, and reſt ſatisfy'd in a wiſe and profound Silence, than thus fooliſhly to blame what they know nothing of.

Travellers are generally accus'd of venting an Infinity of Lyes and Impoſtures: But Men of a magnanimous and firm Courage are above ſuch ſilly Raileries: For when they've done all to blacken our Reputation, we ſhall ſtill receive for our Reward, the Eſteem and Approbation of Men of Honour, who being endow'd with knowing and penetrating Souls, are capable to give an equal and impartial Judgment of Travels, and of the juſt Merit of ſuch as have hazarded their Lives for the Glory of God, and the Good of the Publick. It is this happy and agreeable Recompence that makes the daring Travellers

vellers ſo valiantly expoſe themſelves to all manner of Fatigues and Dangers, that by ſo doing, they may become uſeful to Mankind.

CHAP. I.

The Motives which engag'd the Author of this Diſcovery to undertake the Voyage, whereof you have here a Relation.

I Always found in my ſelf a ſtrong Inclination to retire from the World, and regulate my Life according to the Rules of pure and ſevere Virtue: and in compliance with this Humour, I enter'd into the *Franciſcan Order*, deſigning to confine my ſelf to an auſtere Way of Living. I was over-joy'd then, when I read in Hiſtory the Travels and Voyages of the Fathers of my own Order, who indeed were the firſt that undertook Miſſions into any foreign Country. And oft-times repreſented to my ſelf, that there could be nothing greater or more glorious than to inſtruct the Ignorant and Barbarous, and lead 'em to the light of the Goſpel; and having remark'd, that the *Franciſcans* had behav'd themſelves in this Work with a great deal of Zeal and Succeſs, I found this begat in my Mind a Deſire of tracing their Footſteps, and dedicating my ſelf after their Example, to the Glory of God, and the Salvation of Souls.

In reading the Hiſtory of our Order, I obſerv'd, that in a general Aſſembly held in the Year 1621. it was reckon'd, that ſince the firſt going of the Reverend Father *Martin de Valence* (one of our firſt Reformers) into *America*, there had been five hundred Convents of Recollects, eſtabliſh'd in that New World, and diſtributed into Two and twenty Provinces. As I advanc'd in Years, this Inclination to travel did ſo much the more fix it ſelf in my Mind. It is true,

one of my Sisters that was marry'd at *Ghent*, and whom I lov'd very tenderly, did dissuade me from my Design as much as she could, and never ceas'd to redouble her Sollicitations to that purpose, while I had occasion to be with her in that great City, whither I had gone to learn the *Dutch* Language: But being sollicited on the other hand, by many of my Friends at *Amsterdam*, to go to the *East-Indies*, my natural Inclination, join'd to the Influence of their Requests, did move me much, and had almost determin'd me to undertake a Sea-Voyage.

Seeing then that all the Remonstrances of my Sister could not dissuade me from travelling, I first undertook a Journey into *Italy*; and in Obedience to the Orders of my Superiour, visited all the great Churches, and most considerable Convents of our Order, both in that Country, and in *Germany*; which did in some measure gratifie the Curiosity of my Temper. But having return'd to the *Netherlands*, the Reverend Father *William Herinx*, late Bishop of *Ipres*, manifested his averseness to the Resolution I had taken of continuing to travel, by detaining me in the Convent of *Halles* in *Hainault*, where I was oblig'd to perform the Office of Preacher for a Year. After which, with the Consent of my Superiour, I went into the Country of *Artois*, from whence I was sent to *Calais*, to act the part of a *Mendicant* there in time of Herring-salting.

Being there, I was passionately in love with hearing the Relations that Masters of Ships gave of their Voyages. Afterwards I return'd to our Convent at *Biez*, by the way of *Dunkirk*: But I us'd oft-times to sculk behind the Doors of Victualling-Houses, to hear the Sea-men give an Account of their Adventures. The Smoak of Tobacco was offensive to me, and created Pain in my Stomach, while I was thus intent upon giving ear to their Relations: But for all I was very attentive to the Accounts they gave of

their

their Encounters by Sea, the Perils they had gone through, and all the Accidents which befell them in their long Voyages. This Occupation was so agreeable and engaging, that I have spent whole Days and Nights at it without eating; for hereby I always came to understand some new thing, concerning the Customs and Ways of Living in remote Places; and concerning the Pleasantness, Fertility, and Riches of the Countries where these Men had been.

This confirm'd me more and more in my former Resolution; and that I might advance it yet further, I went Missionary into most part of the Towns of *Holland*; and stopp'd at length at *Mastreicht*, for eight Months together, where I administer'd the Sacraments to above Three thousand wounded Men: In which Occupation I ventur'd many Dangers among the Sick People, being taken ill both of a Spotted Fever and a Dysenterie, which brought me very low, and near unto Death: But God at length restor'd me to my former Health, by the Care and Help of a very skilful *Dutch* Physician.

The singular Zeal I had for promoting the Good of Souls, engag'd me the Year following to be present at the Battle of *Seneffe*, where I was busied in administring Comfort to the poor wounded Men: Till at length, after having endur'd all manner of Fatigue and Toil, and having run the risque of extreme Dangers at Sieges of Towns in the Trenches, and in Fields of Battel, (where I never ceas'd to expose my self for the good of Mens Souls) while these bloody Men were breathing nothing but Slaughter and Blood, I happily found my self in a condition to satisfie my first Inclination: For I then receiv'd Orders from my Superiours to go for *Rochel*, in order to embark in Quality of Missionary for *Canada*. Within Two Leagues of that City I perform'd the Function of a Curate near two Months; being invited so to do by the Pastor of the Place, who had oc-

casion to be absent from his Charge. But afterwards I totally resign'd my self to the Providence of God, and begun a Voyage of Twelve or Thirteen hundred Leagues over, and perhaps the greatest that can be made by Sea.

I embark'd in the Company of Mr. *Francis de Laval*, created then Bishop of *Petrée in partibus Infidelium*, and since Bishop of *Quebec*, the Capital City of *Canada*; and now my Inclination to travel increas'd more and more: Yet I staid in that Country four Years, and was sent thence in Mission, while the Abbot of *Fenelon*, present Archbishop of *Cambray*, resided there.

I shall not here recount the several Adventures of our Voyage, nor the Fights we were engag'd in with the Ships of *Turkey*, *Tunis*, and *Algiers*, who attempted several times to have taken us; but without success. Nor shall I stay to relate our Approach to *Cape Breton*, where we beheld with incredible Delight, the Battle ordinarily fought betwixt the Fishes call'd *Espadons* and the Whales, their mortal Enemies; neither am I to detain my Reader with an Account of what vast Quantities of Fish we took at Forty Fathom Water, upon the Great Bank of *New-found-Land*; or what great Numbers of Ships we rencounter'd with, that were bound thither from different Nations to fish in these Places, which afford such infinite Numbers of all manner of Fishes. These diverting Sights were very agreeable to all our Crew, which was then about an Hundred Men strong, to three Fourths of whom I administred the Sacraments, they being Catholicks. I perform'd likewise Divine Service every Day while the Weather was calm; and we sung the Itinerary of the Clergy, translated into *French* Verse, after the Evening Prayers.

Thus

Thus we ſweetly paſs'd our Time a-board, 'till at length we arriv'd at *Quebec*, the Capital City of *Canada*.

CHAP. II.

The Means by which the Author accuſtom'd himſelf to endure the Travail and Fatigue of his laborious Miſſion.

MR. *Francis de Laval*, Biſhop of *Petrée*, having taken poſſeſſion of the Biſhoprick of *Quebec*, which was conferr'd upon him by Pope *Clement* X. and that contrary to the Sentiments of many Perſons of Quality, who, by means of his Preferment, were fruſtrated of their own Pretenſions: This Reverend Prelate (I ſay) having taken into conſideration the Fervency of my Zeal in Preaching the Goſpel in my Voyage, my aſſiduous Diligence in performing Divine Service, and the Care I had taken to hinder the Young Fellows of our Crew from keeping looſe Company with the Women and Maids that came along with us (for which I had oft-times been rewarded with Anger and Hatred;) theſe Reaſons, and ſuch like, procur'd me the Favour and Applauſe of this Illuſtrious Prelate, he obliging me to preach in *Advent* and *Lent* to the Cloiſter of St. *Auguſtin*, in the Hoſpital of *Quebec*.

But in the mean while, all this did not ſatisfie my natural Inclination: I us'd oft-times to go ſome Twenty or Thirty Leagues off the Town to ſee the Country, wearing a little Hood, and making uſe of large Rackets, without which I had been in danger of falling headlong over fearful Precipices. Sometimes to eaſe my ſelf a little, I made a great Dog I had brought with me, drag my little Baggage along, that I might arrive the ſooner at *Trois Rivieres*, *St. Anne*, and Cape *Tourmente*, *Bourgroyal*, the Point *de Levi*, and

and at the Island of *St. Laurence*, whither I design'd to go. There I assembled together, in one of the largest Cottages of that Country, as many People as I could gather; whom in some time I admitted to Confession, and to the Holy Communion. In the Night-time I had nothing to cover me but a Cloak; and sometimes the Frost pierc'd to my very Bones, which oblig'd me to make a Fire five or six times in a Night, to prevent my freezing to death. My Commons also were very short, scarce more than to keep me from starving.

In the Summer-season I was oblig'd, in order to continue my *Mission*, to travel in Canou's, that is, a sort of little Boats (which I shall describe hereafter) that they make use of in Lakes and Rivers: Which sort of Contrivance succeeded well enough where the Water was shallow, or about two or three Foot deep; But when we came to any deeper Place, then the Boat, which was round underneath, was in danger of over-turning, insomuch that I had certainly perish'd in the Water, had not I taken a circumspect Care of my self.

However, I found my self oblig'd to travel after this manner, for there were no passable Roads in this Country; it being impossible to travel over-land in these new Colonies, because of that infinite number of Trees and Woods that beset them on all sides, which must needs be cut down or burn'd, before any passable Way be made.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

A Deſcription of thoſe Canou's that they make uſe of in the Summer-time in America, *for the Conveniency of travelling.*

THeſe Canou's are round underneath, as I ſaid but now, and pointed at the two Ends, not unlike the *Venetian* Gondals: Without them it were impoſſible to travel in *America*, for the Country is full of vaſt and wide-extended Foreſts: Beſides, the impetuous Winds ſometimes pluck up the Trees by the Roots, and Time it ſelf ranverſes great numbers of 'em, which tumbling down through Age, are piled ſo one upon another, that the Ways are totally embaraſs'd, and render'd unpaſſable.

The Savages are very ingenious in making theſe Canou's: They make them of the Bark of Birch-Trees, which they pull very neatly off that ſort of Trees, they being conſiderably bigger than thoſe of *Europe*. They betake themſelves to this Work generally about the end of Winter, in the vaſt Foreſts that lie towards the Northern Parts of theſe Countries.

For ſupporting this Bark they line it within with Ribs or Pieces of white Wood, or Cedar, about four Fingers broad; this they furbiſh up with ſmall Poles made ſmooth, that make the Circumference of the Canou; then by other Poles going a-croſs, about an Inch, or an Inch and a half thick, which are very ſmoothly poliſh'd; theſe they join on both ſides to the Bark by ſmall Roots of Trees cloven in two, not much unlike the Willows that we make our Baskets of in *Europe*.

Theſe Canou's have no Rudder, as the bigger Shallops have, for they row them along merely by the force

force of their Arms with some small Oars; and can turn them with an incredible swiftness, and direct them whither they list. Those that are accustom'd to manage them, can make 'em sail at a wonderful rate, even in calm Weather; but when the Wind is favourable, they are expedite to a Miracle; for they then make use of little Sails made of the same Bark, but thinner than that of the Canou's. As for the *Europeans*, that by long usage come to be well vers'd in this sort of Tackling, they make use of about four Ells of Linen Cloth, hoisted up on a little Mast, the Foot of which stands in a Hole made in a square piece of light Wood, that is fastned betwixt the Ribs and the Bark of the Canou's towards the Bottom.

Those that are well skill'd in managing these Canou's, can sail Thirty or Thirty five Leagues in a Day down a River, and sometimes more in Lakes, if the Wind be favourable: But some of 'em are much bigger than others. They carry generally about a Thousand pound Weight, some Twelve hundred, and the biggest not above Fifteen hundred pounds. The least of 'em can carry Three or four hundred pound weight, together with two Men or Women to steer them along. But the Greater must have Three or Four Men to manage them, and sometimes when Business requires Expedition, Seven or Eight to quicken their pace.

CHAP. IV.

Other Motives that induc'd the Author more forcibly to undertake this Discovery.

I Was passionately zealous, in imitation of many Fathers of my Order, for enlarging the Limits of Christianity, and converting the barbarous *Americans* to the Belief of the Gospel: and in pursuance of

of that Design, I look'd upon the Employment of a *Missionary* as a most Honourable Post for me; so that whenever I found the opportunity of a Mission, I willingly embrac'd it; tho' it oblig'd me to travel more than Twelve hundred Leagues off *Canada*: Yet I persuaded several to accompany me in my Voyage; and neglected not any thing that might tend to the furtherance of my Design.

At first, for a Trial I was sent in Mission about a Hundred and twenty Leagues beyond *Quebec*. I went up by the way of the River St. *Laurence*, and arriv'd at length at the brink of a Lake call'd by the Natives *Ontario*, which I shall describe hereafter. Being there, I perswaded several of the barbarous *Iroquese*, to cultivate the Ground, and prepare some Wood for building a Lodge for us. Then I made them erect a Cross of an extraordinary heighth and bigness; and built a Chapel near to the Lake, and settled my self there, with another of my own Order, by Name, Father *Luke Buisset*, whom I had induc'd to come along with me, and who died since in our *Franciscan* Convent upon the *Sambre*: I shall have occasion afterwards to speak of him, for that we cohabited in *Canada* for a long time, and were Fellow-Labourers in our Settlement at *Catarokouy*; which was the Place where we oft-times concerted the Measures of making this Discovery I am about to relate. I there gave my self much to the reading of Voyages, and encreas'd the Ambition I had to pursue my Design, from what Light the Savages imparted to us in that matter: In fine, I plainly perceiv'd by what Relations I had receiv'd of several Particulars in different Nations, that it was a matter of no great difficulty to make considerable Establishments to the South-East of the great Lakes; and that by the conveniency of a great River call'd *Hoio*, which passes through the Country of the *Iroquese*, a Passage might be made into the Sea at Cape *Florida*.

While

While I resided in that place, I made several little Tours, sometimes with the Inhabitants of *Canada*, that we had brought along to settle at our Fort of *Catarokouy*; sometimes in company of the Savages alone, with whom I convers'd frequently. And as I foresaw that the *Iroquese* might become jealous and suspicious of our Discoveries, I resolv'd to make a Tour round their Five Cantons; and in pursuance of this Design, threw my self among 'em, being accompany'd only with a Soldier of our Fort, who travell'd with me Seventy Leagues, or near the Matter, on this Occasion; we having our Feet arm'd with large Rackets, to prevent the Injury of the Snow, which abounds in that Country in time of Winter.

I had already acquir'd some small Knowledge of the *Iroquese* Language; and while I travell'd in this manner among them, they were surpriz'd to see me walk in the Midst of Snow, and lodge my self in the wild Forests that their Country is full of. We were oblig'd to dig four Foot deep into the Snow, to make Fire at Night, after having journey'd Ten or Twelves Leagues over-day. Our Shooes were made after the Fashion of those of the Natives, but were not able to keep out the Snow, which melted as soon as our Feet touch'd it, it having receiv'd heat from the motion of us walking along. We made use of the Barks of Trees to cover us when we went to sleep; and were carefully sollicitous to keep in great Fires to defend us from the nipping Colds. In this lonesome Condition spent we the Nights, waiting the welcome return of the Sun, that we might go on in our Journey. As for Food, we had none, save the *Indian* Corn grinded small, which we diluted with Water, to make it go down the better.

Thus we pass'd through the Countries of the *Honnehiouts* and *Honnontages*, who gave us a very kind reception,

reception, and are the most Warlike People of all the *Iroqueſe*. When they saw us, they put their Fore-fingers to their Mouths signifying how much surpris'd they were at the troubleſom and difficult Journey we had made in the middle of Winter. Then looking upon the mean and mortifying Habit of St. *Francis*, they cry'd aloud, *Hetchitagon!* that is, Bare-foot; and did with all manner of paſſion and aſtoniſhment pronounce the Word *Gannoron*; intimating, that it muſt needs have been a Buſineſs of great Importance that mov'd us to attempt ſuch a difficult Journey at ſo unſeaſonable a time.

Theſe Savages regal'd us with Elk and Veniſon, dreſs'd after their own faſhion, which we eat of, and afterwards took leave of 'em, going further on in our Journey. When we departed, we carry'd our Bed-cloaths on our Backs, and took with us a little Pot to boyl their Corn in. We paſs'd through Ways that were overflown with Water, and ſuch as wou'd have been unpaſſable by any *European*: For when we came at vaſt Marſhes and overflowing Brooks, we were oblig'd to crawl along by the Trees. At length with much difficulty we arriv'd at *Gamniekez*, or *Agniez*, which is one of the Five Cantons of the *Iroqueſe*, ſituated about a large Day's Journey from *New-Holland*, call'd now *New-York*: Being there, we were forc'd to ſeaſon our *Indian* Corn (which we were wont to bruize betwixt two Stones) with little Frogs that the Natives gather'd in the Meadows towards *Eaſter*, when the Snow was all gone.

We ſtay'd ſome time among theſe People, lodging with a *Jeſuite* that had been born at *Lions*, to tranſcribe an *Iroqueſe* Dictionary. When the Weather began to be more favourable, we chanc'd one day to meet with three *Dutch*-men on Horſe-back, who had come thither to traffick in Beavers Skins: They were ſent thither by Major *Andrews*, who is

(the

the Person that subdu'd *Boston* and *New-York* for the King of *England*, and is at present Governour of *Virginia*.

These Gentlemen alighted from their Horses, that we might mount 'em, taking us along with them to *New-Orange* to be regal'd there. As soon as they heard me speak *Dutch*, they testify'd a great deal of Friendship to me, and told me they had read several Histories of the Discoveries made by those of our *Franciscan* Order in the Northern Parts of *America*, but had never before seen any wear the Habit in these Countries as we did. They likewise express'd the great Desire they had to have me stay among them, for the Spiritual Comfort and Advantage of many Catholicks who had come from our *Netherlands*, and setled there: And I should very willingly have yielded to their Intreaties in residing there, but that I was afraid of giving any Jealousie to the *Jesuites*, who had receiv'd me very Kindly; and besides, I was aware of injuring the Colony of *Canada*, in respect to the Commerce they had with the Savages of my Acquaintance in Beavers and Skins. We therefore having testifyed how much oblig'd we were to the Gentlemen for their Kindness, return'd again to *Catarokouy* with much less difficulty than we went. But all this had no other effect than to augment the Itching I had to discover remoter Countries.

CHAP. V.

A Description of Fort Catarokouy, *call'd since Fort* Frontenac.

THis Fort is situated a Hundred Leagues from *Quebec* (the Capital City of *Canada*) up the River *St. Laurence* Southwards. It is built near to the Place

here the Lake *Ontario* (which is as much
y, the pretty Lake) discharges it self.
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's, and four Bastions, by the Order of Count
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sions of the *Iroquese*, and to interrupt the
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:led a new Colony there; for they furnish
ges with Commodities at cheaper Rates than
h of *Canada*.

oquese are an Insolent and barbarous Nation,
shed the Blood of more than Two millions
s in that vast-extended Country. They
never cease from disturbing the Repose of
opeans, were it not for fear of their Fire-
For they entertain no Commerce with
ve in the Merchandise-Goods they stand in
, and in Arms, which they buy on purpose
gainst their Neighbours; and by the means
ch, they have compass'd the Destruction of
ite Number of People, extending their bloo-
quest above 5 or 600 Leagues beyond their
ecincts, and exterminating whatever Nations
te.

Fort, which at first was only surrounded with
Palisado's, and earthen Ramparts, has been
since the commencement of my Mission
se Countries, to the circumference of Three
and sixty Toises (each of these being six
length) and is now adorn'd with Free-Stone,
hey find naturally polish'd by the shock of the
pon the brink of the Lake *Ontario* or *Frontenac*.
rought at this Fort with so much diligence
pedition, that in two Years time it was ad-
to this perfection, by the Care and Con-
Sieur-Cavelier *de la Sallé*, who was a *Norman*

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THis Fort is situated a Hundred Leagues fi *bec* (the Capital City of *Canada*) up ver *St. Laurence* Southwards. It is built nea

Place where the Lake *Ontario* (which is as much as to say, the pretty Lake) discharges it self. It was surrounded with a Rampart, great Stakes and Palisado's, and four Bastions, by the Order of Count *Frontenac*, Governour-General of *Canada*. They found it necessary to build this Fort for a Bulwark against the Excursions of the *Iroquese*, and to interrupt the Trade of Skins that these Savages maintain with the Inhabitants of *New-York*, and the *Hollanders*, who have settled a new Colony there; for they furnish the Savages with Commodities at cheaper Rates than the *French* of *Canada*.

The *Iroquese* are an Insolent and barbarous Nation, that has shed the Blood of more than Two millions of Souls in that vast-extended Country. They would never cease from disturbing the Repose of the *Europeans*, were it not for fear of their Fire-Arms: For they entertain no Commerce with them, save in the Merchandise-Goods they stand in need of, and in Arms, which they buy on purpose to use against their Neighbours; and by the means of which, they have compass'd the Destruction of an infinite Number of People, extending their bloody Conquest above 5 or 600 Leagues beyond their own Precincts, and exterminating whatever Nations they hate.

This Fort, which at first was only surrounded with Stakes, Palisado's, and earthen Ramparts, has been enlarg'd since the commencement of my Mission into these Countries, to the circumference of Three hundred and sixty Toises (each of these being six Foot in length) and is now adorn'd with Free-Stone, which they find naturally polish'd by the shock of the Water upon the brink of the Lake *Ontario* or *Frontenac*. They wrought at this Fort with so much diligence and expedition, that in two Years time it was advanc'd to this perfection, by the Care and Conduct of Sieur-Cavelier *de la Sallé*, who was a *Norman*

born; a Man of great Conduct and profound Policy. He oft-times pretended to me, that he was a *Parisian* by Birth, thinking thereby to engage Father *Luke Buisset* before-Mention'd, and me, to put more confidence in him: For he had quickly observ'd from our ordinary Conversation, that the *Flemins*, and several other Nations, are prone to be jealous of the *Normans*. I am sensible that there are Men of Honour and Probity in *Normandy*, as well as elsewhere; but nevertheless it is certain, that other Nations are generally more free, and less sly and intriguing, than the Inhabitants of that Province of *France*.

This Fort *Frontenac* lies to the Northward of this Lake, near to its Mouth, where it discharges it self; and is situated in a *Peninsula*, of which the *Isthmus* is digg'd into a Ditch. On the other side, it has partly the Brink of the Lake surrounding it, partly a pretty sort of a natural Mould, where all manner of Ships may ride safely.

The Situation of this Fort is so advantageous, that they can easily prevent the Sallies and Returns of the *Iroquese*; and in the space of Twenty four Hours, can wage War with them in the Heart of their own Country. This is easily compass'd by the help of their Barques, of which I saw Three all deck'd and mounted, at my last departure thence. With these Barques, in a very little time, they can convey themselves to the South-side of the Lake, and pillage (if it be needful) the Country of the *Tsonnontouans*, who are the most numerous of all the Provinces of the *Iroquese*. They manure a great deal of Ground for sowing their *Indian* Corn in, of which they reap ordinarily in one Harvest as much as serves 'em for two Years: Then they put it into Caves digg'd in the Earth, and cover'd after such a manner, that no Rain can come at it.

The

The Ground which lies along the Brink of this Lake is very fertile: In the ſpace of two Years and a half that I reſided there in diſcharge of my *Miſſion*, they cultivated more than a hundred Acres of it. Both the *Indian* and *European* Corn, Pulſe, Pot-Herbs, Gourds, and Water-Melons, throve very well. It is true indeed, that at firſt the Corn was much ſpoil'd by Graſhoppers; but this is a thing that happens in all the Parts of *Ganada* at the firſt cultivating the Ground, by reaſon of the extream Humidity of all that Country. The firſt Planters we ſent thither, bred up Poultry there, and tranſported with them Horned Beaſts, which multiply'd there extreamly. They have ſtately Trees, fit for building of Houſes or Ships. Their Winter is by three Months ſhorter than at *Canada*. In fine, we have all the reaſon to hope, that e're long, a conſiderable Colony will be ſettled in that Place. When I undertook my great Voyage, I left there about Fifteen or Sixteen Families together, with Father *Luke Buiſſet* a *Recollet*, with whom I had us'd to adminiſter the Sacraments in the Chapel of that Fort.

While the Brink of the Lake was frozen, I walk'd upon the Ice to an *Iroqueſe* Village, call'd *Ganneouſe*, near to *Keutè*, about nine Leagues off the Fort, in company of the Sieur *de la Salle* above-mention'd. Theſe Savages preſented us with the Fleſh of Elks and Porcupines, which we fed upon. After having diſcours'd them ſome time, we return'd, bringing with us a conſiderable number of the Natives, in order to form a little Village of about Forty Cottages to be inhabited by them, lying betwixt the Fort and our Houſe of Miſſion. Theſe Barbarians turn'd up the Ground for ſowing of *Indian* Corn and Pulſe, of which we gave them ſome for their Gardens. We likewiſe taught them, contrary to their uſual cuſtom of eating, to feed upon Soupe, made with Pulſe and Herbs, as we did.

Father *Luke* and I made one Remark upon their Language, that they pronounc'd no Labial Letters, such as *B, P, M, F.* We had the Apostolick Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and our ordinary Litany, translated into the *Iroquese* Language, which we caus'd them to get by heart, and repeat to their Children; and forc'd their Children to pronounce as we did, by inculcating to them the Labial Letters, and obliging 'em to frequent converse with the Children of the *Europeans* that inhabited the Fort; so that they mutually taught one another their Mother-Languages; which serv'd likewise to entertain a good Correspondence with the *Iroquese.*

These Barbarians stay'd always with us, except when they went a hunting; which was the thing we were much concern'd about: for when they went for five or six Months ravaging through their vast huge Forests, and sometimes Two hundred Leagues from their ordinary abode, they took their whole Family along with them. And thus they liv'd together, feeding upon the Flesh of the wild Beasts they kill'd with the Fire-Arms they us'd to receive of the *Europeans,* in exchange of their Skins: And it was impossible for any Missionary to follow them into these wild Desarts; so that their Children being absent all the season of Hunting, forgot what we had instill'd into them at Fort *Frontenac.*

The Inhabitants of *Canada* towards *Quebec, Trois Rivieres,* and the Isle of *Monreal,* being sick of their long Winters; and seeing those of the *Franciscan* Order settle themselves at *Frontenac,* where the Winter was three Months shorter, many of 'em resolv'd to transport their Families thither, and reside there. They represented to themselves the Advantage that should accrue to them, by having the Sacraments administred, and their Children educated by us, and that for nothing; for we ordinarily took no Compensation for the Instruction we gave.

There

There have always been some sort of People who endeavour'd to render themselves Masters of *Canada*, and become Arbiters and Judges over all the Settlements there; for the compassing of which Design, they left no means untry'd. They attributed to themselves the Glory of all the Good Success that was had there: They dispers'd their Missionaries over all the Country, and endeavour'd to obstruct all our Designs at Fort *Frontenac*. In fine, they oblig'd our *Recollets* to remove thence by the help of the Marquis *de Bonnville*, the then Governour of *Canada*, whom they had wheedled into their Interests, and who had suffer'd himself to be impos'd upon by the Artifices of these Men.

I hope, that some time or other God will re-establish our poor Monks in that Place; for their Designs were always innocent and good; and they could never have been made to retire thence, without doing them Injustice. God leaves nothing unpunish'd: The Day shall come when he shall take Vengeance on those who did this Injury. I heard some time ago, that the *Iroquese*, who wage continual War with the *French* of *Canada*, have seiz'd the Fort of *Catarockouy*; as also that the cruel Savages did smoak in their Pipes some of the Fingers of those who had procur'd the departure of our poor *Recollets* from that Fort; and that the present Inhabitants of *Canada* have upbraided those who were the Authors of that Injustice, with it.

CHAP. VI.

A Description of some Fresh-water Lakes, the greatest and the pleasantest in the Universe.

I Here commence the Description of the most remarkable Things in this great Discovery, that the Reader may the more easily attain to a full Know-

ledge of our Voyage, by following the Map we have provided for that purpose.

The Lake *Ontario* receiv'd the Name of the Lake *Frontenac*, from the Illustrious Count *de Frontenac*, Governour-General of *Canada*. All the World is acquainted with the Merit and Vertue of that Noble Person: It is likewise well known, how ancient that Family is from which he is descended, and what a glorious Train of Illustrious Ancestors went before him, who were always thought worthy of the most weighty Employments both Civil and Military! His Family was always inviolably firm to the Interests of their Sovereign, even in the most perplex'd Times: Nay, I may say upon this occasion, without giving Offence to the other Governours of *Canada*, that have either preceded, or are to succeed him, That this Country was never govern'd with so much Wisdom, Moderation, and Equity, as by the Count *de Frontenac*.

I know very well, that those Men who aspire to be Masters over all, have endeavour'd to blacken his Reputation, to eclipse his Glory, and render him suspected. But I am bound to say, to the Praise of that Illustrious Nobleman, That for all the Ten Years he liv'd in that Country, he was a Father to the Poor; a Protector to those that were in danger of being oppress'd; nay, in short, his Conversation was a perfect Model of Vertue and Piety. Those of his Countrymen who were stirr'd up against him, by an Effect of their natural Levity and Fickleness, had the Mortification to see him re-establish'd in that very same Government, of which their Calumnies and malignant Intrigues had endeavour'd to dispossess him. They had engag'd the Intendant of *Chesneau* in the same Combination, having over-reach'd him by their cunning Artifices. Yet notwithstanding all these unjust Censures, I came to understand of late, that they regret much the want of that Illustrious Count.

It

It was therefore in Honour of this Worthy Count, that they gave to the Lake the Name of *Frontenac*, in order to perpetuate his Memory in that Country. This Lake is Eighty Leagues long, and Twenty five Leagues broad: It abounds with Fiſhes, is deep, and navigable all over. The Five Cantons, or Diſtricts, of the *Iroqueſe*, do inhabit for the moſt part the South-ſide of this Lake, *viz.* the *Ganniegez*, or *Agniez* (the nigheſt Neighbours to *New-Holland*, or *New-York*) the *Onnontagues*, or thoſe who live in the Mountains, who are the moſt Warlike People of all that Nation; the *Onneiouts* and *Tſonnontouans* the moſt populous of them all. There are likewiſe on the South-ſide of the Lake, theſe *Iroqueſe* Villages, *viz.* *Tejajagon*, *Keuté*, and *Ganneouſſe*, which is not diſtant from *Frontenac* above Nine Leagues.

The great River of *St. Laurence* derives its Source from the Lake *Ontario*, which is likewiſe call'd in the *Iroqueſe* Language, *Skanadario*; that is to ſay, a very pretty Lake. It ſprings likewiſe partly from the Lakes that are higher up in the Country, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve afterwards.

This Lake *Ontario* is of an Oval Figure, and extends it ſelf from Eaſt to Weſt. Its Water is freſh and ſweet, and very pleaſant to drink; the Lands which border upon it being likewiſe very fertile. It is very navigable, and can receive large Veſſels: Only in Winter it is more difficult, becauſe of the outrageous Winds which are frequent there. From this Lake one may go by Barques, or by greater Veſſels to the foot of a great Rock that is about two Leagues off the Fall of the River *Niagara*, which I am now to deſcribe.

CHAP. VII.

A Description of the Fall of the River Niagara, *that is to be seen betwixt the Lake* Ontario *and that of* Erié.

BEtwixt the Lake *Ontario* and *Erié*, there is a vast and prodigious Cadence of Water which falls down after a surprizing and astonishing manner, insomuch that the Universe does not afford its Parallel. 'Tis true, *Italy* and *Suedeland* boast of some such Things; but we may well say they are but sorry Patterns, when compar'd to this of which we now speak. At the foot of this horrible Precipice, we meet with the River *Niagara*, which is not above half a quarter of a League broad, but is wonderfully deep in some places. It is so rapid above this Descent, that it violently hurries down the wild Beasts while endeavouring to pass it to feed on the other side, they not being able to withstand the force of its Current, which inevitably casts them down headlong above Six hundred foot.

This wonderful Downfall is compounded of two great Cross-streams of Water, and two Falls, with an Isle sloping along the middle of it. The Waters which fall from this vast height, do foam and boil after the most hideous manner imaginable, making an outrageous Noise, more terrible than that of Thunder; for when the Wind blows from off the South, their dismal roaring may be heard above fifteen Leagues off.

The River *Niagara* having thrown it self down this incredible Precipice, continues its impetuous course for two Leagues together, to the great Rock above-mention'd, with an inexpressible Rapidity: But having pass'd that, its Impetuosity relents, gliding



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ding along more gently for two Leagues, till it arrives at the Lake *Ontario* or *Frontenac*.

Any Barque or greater Veſſel may paſs from the Fort to the foot of this huge Rock above-mention'd. This Rock lies to the Weſtward, and is cut off from the Land by the River *Niagara*, about two Leagues farther down than the great Fall; for which two Leagues the People are oblig'd to carry their Goods over-land; but the way is very good, and the Trees are but few, and they chiefly Firrs and Oaks.

From the great Fall unto this Rock, which is to the Weſt of the River, the two Brinks of it are ſo prodigious high, that it would make one tremble to look ſteadily upon the Water, rolling along with a Rapidity not to be imagin'd. Were it not for this vaſt Cataract, which interrupts Navigation, they might ſail with Barks or greater Veſſels, above Four hundred and fifty Leagues further, croſs the Lake of *Hurons*, and up to the farther end of the Lake *Illinois*; which two Lakes we may well ſay are little Seas of freſh Water.

Sieur *de la Salle* had a deſign to have built a Fort at the Mouth of the River *Niagara*; and might eaſily have compaſs'd it, had he known how to have kept himſelf within bounds, and to be confin'd there for one Year. His deſign was to curb and keep under the *Iroqueſe*, and eſpecially the *Tſonnontouans*, who are the moſt numerous People, and the moſt given to War of that all Nation. In ſhort, ſuch a Fort as this might eaſily have interrupted the Commerce betwixt theſe People and the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* in *New-York*. Their Cuſtom is to carry to *New-York* the Skins of Elks, Beavers, and ſeveral ſorts of Beaſts, which they hunt and ſeek after ſome 2 or 300 Leagues from their own home. Now they being oblig'd to paſs and repaſs near to this Mouth of the River *Niagara*, we might eaſily ſtop them by fair means in time of Peace,

Peace, or by open force in time of War; and thus oblige them to turn their Commerce upon *Canada*.

But having obſerv'd that the *Iroqueſe* were puſh'd on to ſtop the Execution of this Deſign, not ſo much by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, as by the Inhabitants of *Canada*, who many of them endeavour'd by all means to traverſe this our Diſcovery; they contented themſelves to build a Houſe at the Mouth of the River to the Eaſtward, where the Place was naturally fortifi'd. On one ſide of this Houſe there is a very good Haven, where Ships may ſafely ride; nay, by the help of a Capſtane, they may eaſily be hall'd upon Land. Beſides, at this Place they take an infinite quantity of Whitings, Sturgeons, and all other ſorts of Fiſhes, which are incomparably good and ſweet; inſomuch, that in the proper Seaſon of Fiſhing, they might furniſh the greateſt City in *Europe* with plenty of Fiſh.

CHAP. VIII.

A Deſcription of the Lake Erié.

THE *Iroqueſe* give to this Lake the Name of *Erié Tejocharontiong*, which extends it ſelf from Eaſt to Weſt perhaps a hundred and forty Leagues in Length. But no *European* has ever ſurvey'd it all; only I and thoſe who accompany'd me in this Diſcovery, have view'd the greater Part of it, with a Veſſel of Sixty Tun burden, which we caus'd to be made on purpoſe, about two Leagues above the forementionʼd Fall of *Niagara*, as I ſhall have occaſion to obſerve more largely hereafter.

This Lake *Erie*, or *Tejocharontiong*, encloſes on its Southern Bank a Tract of Land as large as the Kingdom of *France*. It divides it ſelf at a certain place into two Chanels, becauſe of a great Iſland enclos'd betwixt them: Thus continuing its courſe for fourteen Leagues,

Leagues, it falls into the Lake *Ontario*, or *Frontenac*, and this is that which they call the River *Niagara*.

Betwixt the Lake *Erie* and *Huron*, there is almoſt ſuch another Streight thirty Leagues long, which is of an equal breadth almoſt all over, except in the middle, that it enlarges it ſelf by help of another Lake, far leſs than any of the reſt, which is of a circular Form about ſix Leagues over, according to the Obſervation of our Pilot. We gave it the Name of Lake *St. Claire*, though the *Iroqueſe*, who paſs over it frequently when they are upon Warlike Expeditions, call it *Otſi Keta*. The Country which borders upon this moſt agreeable and charming Streight, is a pleaſant Champagne Country, as I ſhall relate afterwards. All theſe different Rivers, which are diſtinguiſh'd by ſo many different Names, are nothing elſe but the Continuation of the great River *St. Laurence*; and this Lake *St. Claire* is form'd by the ſame.

CHAP. IX.

A Deſcription of the Lake Huron.

THE Lake *Huron* was ſo call'd by the People of *Canada*, becauſe the Savage *Hurons*, who inhabited the adjacent Country, us'd to have their Hair ſo burn'd, that their Head reſembled the Head of a Wild Boar. The Savages themſelves call it the Lake *Karegnondy*. Heretofore the *Hurons* liv'd near this Lake, but they have been in a great meaſure deſtroy'd by the *Iroqueſe*.

The Circumference of this Lake may be reckon'd to be about Seven hundred Leagues, and its Length Two hundred; but the Breadth is very unequal. To the Weſt of it near its Mouth, it contains ſeveral great Iſlands, and is navigable all over. Betwixt this Lake and that of the *Illinois*, we meet with another Streight

Streight, which discharges it self into this Lake, being about Three Leagues long, and One broad, its Course running West-North-West.

There is yet another Streight or narrow Canal towards the upper Lake (that runs into this of *Huron*) about Five Leagues broad, and Fifteen Leagues long, which is interrupted by several Islands, and becomes narrower by degrees, till it comes at the Fall of *St. Mary*. This Fall is a Precipice full of Rocks, over which the Water of the upper Lake, which flows thither in great abundance, casts it self with a most violent Impetuosity: Notwithstanding which, a Canou may go up it on one side, provided the People in it row vigorously. But the safer way is to carry the Canou over-land for so little a space, together with the Commodities that those of *Canada* carry thither to exchange with the Savages that live to the Northward of the upper Lake. This Fall is call'd the Fall of *St. Mary Missilimakinak*. It lies at the Mouth of the upper Lake, and discharges it self partly into the Mouth of the Lake *Illinois* towards the great Bay of *Puans*; all which shall afterwards be more fully discours'd of, when I come to relate our Return from *Issati*.

CHAP. X.

A Description of the Lake call'd by the Savages Illinouack, *and by the* French, Illinois.

THE Lake *Illinois*, in the Natives Language, signifies *The Lake of Men*; for the word *Illinois* signifies *a Man of full Age in the vigour of his Years*. It lies on the West of the Lake *Huron*, standing North and South, and is about a Hundred and twenty, or a Hundred and thirty Leagues in Length, and Forty in Breadth, being in Circuit about Four hundred Leagues.

Leagues. It is call'd by the *Miami's*, *Miſchigonong*, that is, *The Great Lake.* It extends it ſelf from North to South, and falls into the Southern-ſide of the Lake *Huron*; and is diſtant from the upper Lake about Fifteen or Sixteen Leagues, its Source lies near a River which the *Iroqueſe* call *Hohio*, where the River *Miamis* diſcharges it ſelf into the ſame Lake.

It is navigable all over, and has to the Weſtward a great Bay call'd the Bay of *Puans*, by reaſon that the Savages who now inhabit the Land ſurrounding this Bay, had deſerted their former Habitation, becauſe of ſome ſtinking (in *French Puans*) Waters towards the Sea that annoy'd them.

CHAP. XI.

A ſhort Deſcription of the Upper Lake.

THis Upper Lake runs from Eaſt to Weſt, and may have more than a Hundred and fifty Leagues in length, Sixty in breadth, and Five hundred in circuit. We never went quite over it, as we did over all the others I've hitherto mention'd; but we ſounded ſome of its greateſt Depths, and it reſembles the Ocean, having neither Bottom nor Banks.

I ſhall not here ſtay to mention the infinite numbers of Rivers that diſcharge themſelves into this prodigious Lake, which together with that of *Illinois*, and the Rivers that are ſwallow'd in them, make up the Source of that great River *St. Laurence*, which runs into the Ocean at the Iſland of *Aſſumption* towards *New-found-land*. We ſail'd upon this River about Six hundred Leagues from its Mouth to its Source.

I've already obſerv'd, That all theſe Lakes may well be call'd Freſh-water Seas. They abound extreamly

treamly in Whitings, that are larger than Carps, and which are extraordinary good; nay, at Twenty or Thirty Fathom Water, there are Salmon-Trouts taken of Fifty or Sixty pound weight. It were easie to build on the sides of these great Lakes, an infinite Number of considerable Towns, which might have Communication one with another by Navigation for Five hundred Leagues together, and by an inconceivable Commerce which would establish it self among 'em. And to be sure, the Soil, if cultivated by *Europeans*, would prove very fertile. Those that can conceive the Largeness and Beauty of these Lakes, may easily understand, by the help of our Map, what course we steer'd in making the great Discovery hereafter mention'd.

CHAP. XII.

What is the Predominant Genius *of the Inhabitants of* Canada.

THE *Spaniards* were the first who discover'd *Canada*; but at their first arrival, having found nothing considerable in it, they abandon'd the Country, and call'd it *Il Capo di Nada*; that is, *A Cape of Nothing*; hence by corruption sprung the Word *Canada*, which we use in all our Maps.

Since I left that Country, I understand that all things continue very near in the same State as they were whilst I resided there. Those who have the Government of *Canada* committed to their Care, are mov'd with such a malignant Spirit, as obliges all who do not approve their Design, to moan secretly before God. Men of Probity that are zealous for Religion, find nothing there of what they expected; but, on the contrary, such Repulses and ill Usage, that no body could have foreseen. Several resort thither

thither, with a design to Sacrifice their Repose and Life, to the Temporal and Spiritual Succour of an Infant-Church; but the loss of Reputation and Honour, are the Sacrifices they're after all forc'd to make. Others go thither in the hopes of spending their Lives in Peace and perfect Concord; whereas they meet with nothing but Jarrs, Divisions, and a Sea of Troubles. In lieu of their fair Hopes, they reap nothing but Crosses and Persecution; and all for not pleasing the Humours of Two or Three Men, who are the over-ruling Wits of that Country. What a vast disparity distance there is betwixt the Humor of these Men, and our *Flemish* Sincerity! I mean that Candour and Evenness of Mind which make up the true Character of a Christian, and is observ'd every where else.

But without entring farther into any Particulars, I leave the Judgment of all unto God; and shall only say, that we who are *Flemings* by Birth, went to *Canada* without any other private Design, having renounc'd our Native Country, meerly for the Service of our Religion, after having quitted all other Enjoyments for embracing a Religious Profession. And therefore it was not a small Surprize to us, upon our arrival in that Country, to see our Sincerity and Uprightness of Heart so sorrily entertain'd. There is a certain sort of People, who are jealous of every thing, and whom it is impossible to retrieve from under the first impressions they've receiv'd. Though a Man were never so complaisant, yet if he be not altogether of their Stamp, or if he endeavours to represent Things fairly and rationally unto them, tho' with wise and soft Remonstrances, yet shall he pass among 'em for a Fellow of a turbulent Spirit. Such Conduct as this, does not savour of Christianity, neither doth it bespeak any other Prospect than that of temporal Interest. This Consideration mov'd me oft-times to say to the Three *Flemish* Monks I had

brought

brought to *Canada* with me, that it had been much better for us who had quitted all our Enjoyments, and exchang'd them for the Poverty of a Monastick Life, to have gone in Mission among Strangers, to preach Repentance to Infidels, and propagate the Kingdom of our Saviour among barbarous Nations.

And indeed kind Providence seconded my good Intentions; for the Reverend Father *Germain Allart* Recollet, late Bishop of *Vence* in *Provence*, sent me Orders to undertake the Discovery which I am about to relate.

CHAP. XIII.

A Description of my first Imbarkment in a Canow at Quebec, *the Capital City of* Canada, *being bound for the South-West of* New-France, *or* Canada.

I Remain'd Two Years and a half at Fort *Frontenac*, till I saw the House of *Mission* finish'd, that Father *Luke Buisset* and I had caus'd to be built there. This engag'd us in Travels, which inseparably attend New Establishments. Accordingly we went in a Canou down the River St. *Laurence*; and after a Hundred and twenty Leagues sailing, arriv'd at *Quebec*, where I retir'd into the *Recollets* Convent of St. *Mary*, in order to prepare and sanctifie my self for commencing our Discovery.

And indeed I must frankly own, that when at the foot of the Cross I pensively consider'd this important Mission, weighing it in the Scales of Humane Reason, and measuring the weight of its Difficulties by Humane Force, it seem'd altogether a terrible, as well as a rash and inconsiderate Attempt. But when I look'd up to GOD, and view'd it as an effect of his Goodness, in chusing me for so great a Work, and as his Commandment directed

to

to me by the Mouth of my Superiours, who are the Inſtruments and Interpreters of his Will unto me: Theſe Thoughts, I ſay, preſently inſpir'd me with Courage and Reſolution to undertake this Diſcovery, with all the Fidelity and Conſtancy imaginable.

I perſuaded my ſelf, that ſince it was the peculiar Work of God, to open the hard Hearts of that barbarous People, to whom I was ſent to publiſh the glad Tidings of his Goſpel, it were as eaſie for him to compaſs it by a feeble Inſtrument, ſuch as I was, as by the moſt worthy Perſon in the World.

Having thus prepar'd my ſelf to enter upon the diſcharge of my *Miſſion*, and ſeeing that thoſe who were expected from *Europe* to bear part in this Diſcovery, were now arriv'd; that the Pilate, Seamen, and Ship-Carpenters were in readineſs, and that the Arms, Goods, and Rigging for the Ships were all at hand; I took with me from our Convent a portable Chapel all compleat for my ſelf, and afterwards went and receiv'd the Benediction of the Biſhop of *Quebec*, together with his Approbation in Writing; which I likewiſe receiv'd of Count *Frontenac*, who was a Man that teſtify'd a great deal of Affection for our *Flemiſh* Recollects, becauſe of our Candour and Ingenuity; and who was pleas'd to give publick Teſtimonie to the Generoſity of my Undertaking, while we were ſet at Table.

In ſhort, I embark'd in a little Canou made of the Barks of Birch-Trees, carrying nothing along with me ſave my portable Chapel, one Blanket, and a Matt of Ruſhes, which was to ſerve me for Bed and Quilt; and this was the whole of my Equipage. It was concerted ſo, that I ſhould go off firſt, that my Departure might oblige the reſt to expedite their Affairs with ſpeed. The Inhabitants of *Canada*, upon both ſides the River of St. *Laurence*, betwixt *Quebec* and *Monreal*, entreated me to officiate among

them, and administer the Sacraments: For they could not assist at Divine Service oftner than five or six times a Year, because there were only Four *Missionaries* in that Country for the extent of Fifty Leagues.

I baptiz'd a Child at a certain Place call'd *St. Hour*, and acquainted the absent Missionary of the Place with the same; which done, I continu'd my Voyage; and as I pass'd by *Harpentinie*, the Lord of the Place of one of the ancientest Families in *Canada*, would have sent one of his Sons along with me; but the Canou was too narrow for Four Persons. At length I arriv'd at *Trois Rivieres*, which is a Town only surrounded with Palisado's, lying about Thirty Leagues higher than *Quebec*. Not meeting there Father *Sixte*, a Recollet-Missionary, who was gone from thence in Mission, the Inhabitants beseech'd me to preach and perform Divine Service on the First of *October*. The next day, the Sieur *Bonivet*, Lieutenant-General Justiciary of that Place, convey'd me a League up the River *St. Laurence*.

The most laudable Enterprizes are oft-times retarded by surprizing and unexpected Obstacles; for when I arriv'd at *Monreal*, they debauch'd and entic'd away my Two Boat-Men; so that I was forc'd to take advantage of an offer which two other Men made to conduct me along in their little shatter'd Boat. Thus was it that those who envy'd the Success of my Undertaking, began to set themselves in opposition to it, and endeavour'd to hinder the most considerable and famous Discovery that has been made in that New World in this Age.

In going up the River, as I pass'd the Lake of *St. Louis*, a little above the Isle of *Monreal*, which is about Twenty five Leagues in circumference, I observ'd that this River St. *Laurence* divides it self into Two Branches; of which one leads to the ancient Country of the *Hurons*, the *Outaouacts*, and

and ſeveral other Nations ſituate to the Northward; and the other to the Country of the *Iroqueſe*. We went up this laſt for about Sixty Leagues, in moſt rapid and horrible Currents, full of great Rocks, where the Water roars Night and Day like Thunder, for Three or Four Leagues together. All which does not hinder the Boat-Men and their Canou's to deſcend down among theſe huge Rocks with ſo much ſwiftneſs, that thoſe who are in the Canou are for the time quite blinded. They generally carry Elks-Claws and Shins with them, which they exchange for other Goods, with the Savages of that Country.

I ſhall not offer to give any circumſtantial Account of the Accidents that befel me, which are inſeparable Companions of all great Voyages: What is needful to be ſaid is, That I arriv'd at Fort *Catarokouy*, or *Frontenac*, about Eleven a Clock at Night, the next Day after *All-Saints*; where our Recollet-Fathers, *Gabriel de la Ribourde*, and *Luke Buiſſet*, Miſſionaries, receiv'd me with all Expreſſions of Joy into our Houſe of Miſſion, which we had caus'd to be built the Year before, upon the brink of the Lake *Ontario*, near to Fort *Frontenac*. This Fort lies about forty four Degrees and ſome Minutes of Northern Latitude.

I had forgot to acquaint you, that this Lake *Ontario* is form'd by the River St. *Laurence*, and that it is deep enough for large Veſſels; for at ſeventy Fathom we could diſcern no Ground. The Waves there are toſs'd by mighty Winds which are very frequent; and their Surges are full as high as thoſe of the Sea, but much more dangerous; for they are ſhorter and ſteeper; ſo that a Veſſel riding along cannot yield and keep touch with 'em. There are likewiſe ſome very plain appearances of a Flux and Reflux; for they obſerve the Water to flow and ebb

by little Tides, and that it flows oft-times against the Wind when very high.

The Fishing of this Lake, as of all the other Lakes before-mention'd, is very considerable for all manner of excellent Fishes, especially for Salmon-Trouts, which are there much bigger than our biggest Salmons. The adjacent Country is very fertile, as is confirm'd by the Experience of those who cultivated it in several places. There is excellent Game there for all sorts of Wild Beasts and Wild Fowl: Their Forests are replenish'd with the prettiest Trees in the World, Pines, Cedars, and *Epinetes*, (a sort of Firr-tree very common in that Country.) They have likewise very good Iron-Mines; and no doubt but other Metals might be found if sought after.

While I abode at *Catarokouy*, waiting the coming up of the rest of our Company, I had time to confer with the Reverend Fathers of our Order, concerning what Measures we were to take for converting unto Christ Jesus, such a numerous Train of Nations that had never heard of the Gospel; for it is certain, that such poor helpless Priests as we of the *Franciscan* Order, destitute of all temporal Enjoyments, and cut off from all Humane Means and Assistance, cannot be too cautious in managing the Concerns of so important a Mission, because of the infinite variety of the Tempers of those that were to accompany us in this Voyage; for we had in company some *Flemings*, some *Italians*, and some *Normans*, who were all of different Interests; and it was a very difficult Task for us to comply with, and please so many different Humours; especially when engag'd in such a Voyage as this, in which Laws could not be observ'd with the same Exactness, or retain the same Rigour as in *Europe*, where Men may be entic'd to Good, and scar'd from Evil, by the Love of Rewards or fear of Punishment. But I resign'd my self wholly to the Exercise of my

my Duty, leaving the Conduct of all unto God's Providence, and being ready to encounter whatever Accidents might fall in my way.

The *Iroqueſe* whom we had brought to ſettle near this Fort (as was above related) came oft-times to viſit us, and made us Preſents of the Fleſh of Elks, and Roe-bucks; in lieu of which we gave 'em little Knives and ſome Tobacco, which we had for that purpoſe. Theſe Savages, when they reflected upon our deſigned Voyage, us'd to clap their Four Fingers on their Mouths (as they generally do when touch'd with the Admiration of any thing they cannot comprehend) and cry'd aloud, *Otchitagon, Gannoron!* that is, *Bare-Feet, what ye are about to undertake, is of great Importance*: And added, that their moſt valiant Adventurers had much ado to extricate themſelves out of the hands of thoſe barbarous Nations we were going to viſit. It is certain, that the *Iroqueſe* had a moſt tender Reſpect for the *Franciſcan* Monks, having obſerv'd them to live all in common, without reſerving any particular Poſſeſſions.

The Food of the *Iroqueſe* is in common among 'em. The ancienteſt Women in the Houſe diſtribute about to the other Perſons in the Family according to their Seniority. When they ſit at their Meals, they give freely to eat unto all that come into their Houſes; for they would rather chuſe to faſt for a whole Day, than ſuffer any one to go from their Houſes, without offering them a ſhare of whatever they had.

The Sieur *de la Salle* arriv'd at the Fort ſome time after me: God preſerv'd him (as he did me) from the infinite Dangers he was expos'd to in this great Voyage betwixt *Quebec* and the Fort, having paſs'd the great fall of Water mention'd laſt, and ſeveral other moſt rapid Currents in his way thither. The ſame Year he ſent off Fifteen of our Boat-men, who

were to go before us. They made as if they had been going in their Canou towards the *Illinois*, and the other Neighbouring Nations that border upon the River, call'd by the *Illinois*, *Meschasipi*; that is, *a great River*; which Name it has in the Map. All this was only to secure to us a good Correspondence with the Savages, and to prepare for us in that Country some Provisions, and other Necessaries, to further this Discovery. But there being among them some villainous Fellows, they stopp'd in the upper Lake at *Missilimakinak*, and diverted themselves with the Savages that live to the Northward of that Lake, lavishing and squandering away the best of the Commodities they had taken with 'em, instead of providing such Things as were needful for building a Ship, which we greatly wanted in order to pass from Lake to Lake to the River *Meschasipi*.

CHAP. XIV.

A Description of my second Imbarkment at Fort Frontenack, *in a Brigantine upon the Lake* Ontario *or* Frontenac.

THat very same Year, on the Eighteenth of *November*, I took leave of our Monks at Fort *Frontenac*, and after mutual Embraces and Expressions of Brotherly and Christian Charity, I embark'd in a Brigantine of about ten Tuns. The Winds and the Cold of the Autumn were then very violent, insomuch that our Crew was afraid to go into so little a Vessel. This oblig'd us and the Sieur *de la Motte* our Commander, to keep our course on the North-side of the Lake, to shelter our selves under the Coast, against the North-west Wind, which otherwise wou'd have forc'd us upon the Southern Coast of the Lake. This Voyage prov'd very difficult

cult and dangerous, becauſe of the unſeaſonable time of the Year, Winter being near at hand.

On the *26th*, we were in great danger about Two large Leagues off the Land, where we were oblig'd to lie at an Anchor all that Night at ſixty Fathom Water and above; but at length the Wind coming to the North-Eaſt, we ſail'd on, and arriv'd ſafely at the further end of the Lake *Ontario*, call'd by the *Iroqueſe*, *Skannadario*. We came pretty near to one of their Villages call'd *Tajajagon*, lying about Seventy Leagues from Fort *Frontenac*, or *Catarokouy*.

We barter'd ſome *Indian* Corn with the *Iroqueſe*, who could not ſufficiently admire us, and came frequently to ſee us on board our Brigantine, which for our greater ſecurity, we had brought to an Anchor into a River, though before we could get in, we run a ground three times, which oblig'd us to put Fourteen Men into Canou's, and caſt the Balaſt of our Ship over-board to get her off again. That River falls into the Lake; but for fear of being frozen up therein, we were forc'd to cut the Ice with Axes and other Inſtruments.

The Wind turning then contrary, we were oblig'd to tarry there till the *15th* of *December*, 1678. when we ſail'd from the Northern Coaſt to the Southern, where the River *Niagara* runs into the Lake; but could not reach it that Day, though it is but Fifteen or Sixteen Leagues diſtant, and therefore caſt Anchor within Five Leagues of the Shore, where we had very bad Weather all the Night long.

On the 6th. being St. *Nicholas*'s Day, we got into the fine River *Niagara*, into which never any ſuch Ship as ours enter'd before. We ſung there *Te Deum*, and other Prayers, to return our Thanks to God Almighty for our proſperous Voyage. The *Iroqueſe Tſonnontouans* inhabiting the little Village, ſituated at the mouth of the River, took above Three Hundred Whitings, which are bigger than Carps, and the

best reliſh'd, as well as the wholeſomeſt Fiſh in the World; which they preſented all to us, imputing their good Luck to our Arrival. They were much ſurprized at our Ship, which they call'd the *great woodden Canou.*

On the *7th*, we went in a Canou two Leagues up the River, to look for a convenient Place for Building; but not being able to get the Canou farther up, becauſe the Current was too rapid for us to maſter, we went over land about three Leagues higher, though we found no Land fit for culture. We lay that Night near a River, which runs from the Weſtward, within a League above the great Fall of *Niagara*, which, as we have already ſaid, is the greateſt in the World. The Snow was then a Foot deep, and we were oblig'd to dig it up to make room for our Fire.

The next day we return'd the ſame way we went, and ſaw great Numbers of Wild Goats, and Wild Turkey-Cocks, and on the *11th*, we ſaid the firſt Maſs that ever was ſaid in that Country. The Carpenters and the reſt of the Crew were ſet to work; but Monſieur *de la Motte*, who had the Direction of them, being not able to endure the Fatigues of ſo laborious a Life, gave over his Deſign, and return'd to *Canada*, having about two hundred Leagues to travel.

Tho *12th*, *13th*, and *14th*, the Wind was not favourable enough to ſail up the River as far as the rapid Current above mention'd, where we had reſolv'd to build ſome Houſes.

Whoſoever conſiders our Map, will eaſily ſee, that this New Enterprize of building a Fort and ſome Houſes on the River *Niagara*, beſides the Fort of *Frontenac*, was like to give Jealouſie to the *Iroqueſe*, and even to the *Engliſh*, who live in this Neighbourhood, and have a great Commerce with them. Therefore to prevent the ill Conſequences of it, it

was

was thought fit to ſend an Embaſſie to the *Iroqueſe*, as it will be mention'd in the next Chapter.

The 15*th*, I was deſir'd to ſit at the Helm of our Brigantine, while three of our Men hall'd the ſame from the Shore with a Rope; and at laſt we brought her up, and moor'd her to the Shore with a Halſer, near a Rock of a prodigious heighth, lying upon the rapid Currents we have already mention'd. The 17th, 18th, and 19th, we were buſie in making a Cabin with Paliſadoes, to ſerve for a Magazine; but the Ground was ſo frozen, that we were forced to throw ſeveral times boiling water upon it to facilitate the beating in and driving down the Stakes. The 20th, 21ſt, 22d, and 23d, our Ship was in great danger to be daſh'd in pieces, by the vaſt pieces of Ice that were hurl'd down the River; to prevent which, our Carpenters made a Capſtane to hall her aſhore; but our great Cable broke in three pieces; whereupon one of our Carpenters ſurrounded the Veſſel with a Cable, and ty'd to it ſeveral Ropes, whereby we got her aſhore, tho' with much difficulty, and ſav'd her from the danger of being broke to pieces, or carried away by the Ice, which came down with an extream violence from the great Fall of *Niagara*.

CHAP. XV.

An Account of the Embaſſie to the Iroqueſe Tſonnontouans.

THeſe Savages being the moſt numerous Nation of that Country, it was requiſite to avoid giving them any manner of ſuſpicion; and in order thereto, we thought fit to prepoſſeſs thoſe of the little Village of *Niagara* with a favourable opinion of our Deſign: We told them, that we did not intend to build a Fort on the Bank of their River *Niagara*, but

but only a grear *Hanger* or Store-house, to keep the Commodities we had brought to supply their Occasions. We accompany'd our Discourse with some small Presents, and told them that we should remain with them, while Six or Seven of our Company went to the great Village of the *Tsonnontouans*, to treat with their chief Captains. And truly it was absolutely necessary to go thither, to remove the Suspicion the Enemies of our Discovery had suggested to that People concerning our Designs.

As I was building a little Cabin of Bark, to perform Divine Service therein, M. *de la Motte*, who was still with us, desir'd me to accompany him in his Embassie, which I was very unwilling to comply with; and therefore intreated him to suffer me to stay there with the greater number of our Men. But notwithstanding the Arguments I us'd, he told me that he was resolv'd to take along with him 7 Men out of 16. that we were in all; that I understood in a manner the Language of their Nation, having been often in conference with them at the Fort of *Frontenac*; that the Glory of God was concern'd in this Undertaking; that he would not trust those that were to accompany him; and in short, that if our Enterprize should miscarry upon that account, the Blame would lie at my door. These with some other secret Reasons, oblig'd me to comply with his Desire, and to follow him.

We travell'd with Shooes made after the *Indian* way, of a single Skin, but without Soles, because the Earth was still cover'd with Snow, and past through Forests for thirty two Leagues together, carrying upon our Backs our Coverings and other Baggage, lying often in open Field, and having with us no other Food but some roasted *Indian* Corn: 'Tis true, we met upon our Road some *Iroquese* a hunting, who gave us some wild Goats, and fifteen or sixteen black Squirrils, which are excellent

cellent Meat. However, after five Days Journey, we came to *Tagarondies*, a great Village of the *Iroqueſe Tſonnontouans*, and were immediately carry'd to the Cabin of their Principal Chief, where Women and Children flock'd to ſee us, our Men being very well dreſt and arm'd. An old Man having according to Cuſtom made publick Cries, to give Notice of our arrival to their Village; the younger Savages waſh'd our Feet, which afterwards they rubb'd over with the Greaſe of Deers, wild Goats, and other Beaſts, and the Oil of Bears.

The next Day, which was the Firſt of the Year 1679. after the ordinary Service, I preach'd in a little Chapel made of Barks of Trees, in preſence of two Jeſuites, *viz.* Father *Garnier* and *Rafeix*; and afterwards we had a Conference with 42 old Men, who make up their Council. Theſe Savages are for the moſt part tall, and very well ſhap'd, cover'd with a ſort of Robe made of Beavers and Wolves-Skins, or of black Squirrels, holding a Pipe or *Calumet* in their Hands. The Senators of *Venice* do not appear with a graver Countenance, and perhaps don't ſpeak with more Majeſty and Solidity, than thoſe ancient *Iroqueſe*.

This Nation is the moſt cruel and barbarous of all *America*, eſpecially to their Slaves, whom they take above two or three hundred Leagues from their Country, as I ſhall ſhew in my Second Volume; however, I muſt do them the Juſtice to obſerve, that they have many good Qualities; and that they love the *Europeans*, to whom they ſell their Commodities at very reaſonable Rates. They have a mortal Hatred for thoſe, who being too ſelf-intereſted and covetous, are always endeavouring to inrich themſelves to the Prejudice of others. Their chief Commodities are Beavers-Skins, which they bring from above a hundred and fifty Leagues off their Habitations, to exchange them with the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*,

Dutch, whom they affect more than the Inhabitants of *Canada*, because they are more affable, and sell them their Commodities cheaper.

One of our own Men, nam'd *Anthony Brossard*, who understood very well the Language of the *Iroquese*, and therefore was Interpreter to M. *de la Motte*, told their Assembly,

First, That we were come to pay them a Visit, and smoak with them in their Pipes, a Ceremony which I shall describe anon: And then we deliver'd our Presents, consisting of Axes, Knives, a great Collar of white and blue Porcelain, with some Gowns. We made Presents upon every Point we propos'd to them, of the same nature as the former.

Secondly, We desir'd them, in the next place to give Notice to the five Cantons of their Nation, that we were about to build a Ship, or great woodden Canow above the great Fall of the River *Niagara*, to go and fetch *European* Commodities by a more convenient passage than the ordinary one, by the *River* St. *Laurence*, whose rapid Currents make it dangerous and long; and that by these means we should afford them our Commodities cheaper than the *English* and *Dutch* of *Boston* and *New-York*. This Pretence was specious enough, and very well contriv'd to engage that barbarous Nation to extirpate the *English* and *Dutch* out of *America*: For they suffer the *Europeans* among them only for the Fear they have of them, or else for the Profit they make in Bartering their Commodities with them.

Thirdly, We told them farther, that we should provide them at the River *Niagara* with a Black-smith and a Gunsmith, to mend their Guns, Axes, *&c.* having no body among them that understood that Trade, and that for the conveniency of their whole Nation, we would settle those Workmen on the Lake of *Ontario*, at the Mouth of the River *Niagara*.

We

We threw again among them ſeven or eight Gowns, and ſome Pieces of fine Cloth, which they cover themſelves with from the Waſt to the Knees. This was in order to engage them on our ſide, and prevent their giving ear to any who might ſuggeſt ill things of us, entreating them firſt to acquaint us with the Reports that ſhould be made unto them to our Prejudice, before they yielded their Belief to the ſame.

We added many other Reaſons which we thought proper to perſuade them to favour our Deſign. The Preſents we made unto them, either in Cloth or Iron, were worth above 400 Livres, beſides ſome other *European* Commodities, very ſcarce in that Country: For the beſt Reaſons in the World are not liſtned to among them, unleſs they are enforc'd with Preſents.

I forgot to obſerve, that before our Interpreter began to talk of theſe matters with the Council, M. *de la Motte* order'd him to tell the *Iroqueſe*, That he would enter into no Particulars in preſence of Father *Garnier* a Jeſuite, whom he much ſuſpected: Whereupon the old Senators order'd the ſaid Father to withdraw. As I had a great Reſpect for him, I went out likewiſe to bear part of the Affront put upon him, and to let M. *la Motte* ſee that he had no reaſon to deſire me to go to the Council with him, ſince he had reſolv'd to affront in my preſence a Jeſuite-Miſſionary, who was amongſt that barbarous Nation, without any other Deſign but to inſtruct them in the Truth of the Goſpel. This was the reaſon why I was not preſent in the Council the firſt Day that we acquainted the *Iroqueſe* with the ſubject of our Embaſſie. I eaſily obſerv'd that M. *la Motte* had been bred up amongſt People profeſs'd Enemies of all Monks and Prieſts; from whence I concluded, that he would lay upon me all the Overſights he might commit in his Negotiation: But I thought

thought it was better he should be deceiv'd by those he employ'd, than to be so my self; and therefore would never meddle with any Temporal Concerns, though earnestly desir'd by him and others. The *Iroquese*, and other wild Nations, had a great Love for me upon that Account: They have supply'd me with Food for my subsistance, and reliev'd me upon other Occasions, only because they observ'd I was not guided by a private self-Interest; and truly whenever they made me any Presents in return of those I had made unto them, I immediately gave them to their Children.

The next Day the *Iroquese* answer'd our Discourse and Presents Article by Article, having laid upon the Ground several little pieces of Wood, to put them in mind of what had been said the Day before in the Council; their Speaker, or President, held in his Hand one of these Pieces of Wood, and when he had answer'd one Article of our Proposal, he laid it down, with some Presents of black and white Porcelain, which they use to string upon the smallest Sinews of Beasts; and then took up another Piece of Wood; and so of all the rest, till he had fully answer'd our Speech, of which those Pieces of Wood, and our Presents put them in mind. When his Discourse was ended, the oldest Man of their Assembly cry'd aloud for three times, *Niaoua*; that is to say, *It is well, I thank thee*; which was repeated with a full Voice, and in a tuneful manner by all the other Senators.

'Tis to be observ'd here, that the Savages, though some are more cunning than others, are generally all addicted to their own Interests; and therefore though the *Iroquese* seem'd to be pleas'd with our Proposals, they were not really so; for the *English* and *Dutch* affording them the *European* Commodities at cheaper Rates than the *French* of *Canada*, they had a greater Inclination for them than for us. That People, tho'

so

so barbarous and rude in their Manners, have however a Piece of Civility peculiar to themselves; for a Man would be accounted very impertinent, if he contradicted any thing that is said in their Council, and if he does not approve even the greatest Absurdities therein propos'd; and therefore they always answer, *Niaoua*; that is to say, *Thou art in the right, Brother; that is well.*

Notwithstanding that seeming Approbation, they believe what they please and no more; and therefore 'tis impossible to know when they are really persuaded of those things you have mention'd unto them, which I take to be one of the greatest Obstructions to their Conversion; For their Civility hindring them from making any Objection, or contradicting what is said unto them, they seem to approve of it, though perhaps they laugh at it in private, or else never bestow a Moment to reflect upon it, such being their Indifference for a future Life. From these Observations, I conclude that the Conversion of that People is to be despair'd of, 'till they are subdu'd by the *Europeans*, and that their Children have another sort of Education, unless God be pleas'd to work a Miracle in their Favour.

While we were still with the *Iroquese*, their Parties made an Excursion toward *Virginia*, and brought two Prisoners with them, one whereof was *Houtouagaha*, which in the Language of the *Iroquese*, signifies a talkative or babling Fellow, and the other of the Nation of *Gannieſſinga*, whither some *Engliſh Franciſcans* were sent Missionaries. The *Iroquese* spar'd the Life of this last, but put to death the former, with such exquisite Torments, that *Nero*, *Domitian*, and *Maximilian*, never invented the like, to exercise the Patience of the Martyrs of the Primitive Church with all.

They use commonly that Inhumanity towards all the Prisoners they take in their Warlike Expeditions; but the worst of it is, that their Torments last some-

sometimes a Month. When they have brought them into their *Canton*, they lay them upon some pieces of Wood, made like a St. *Andrew's* Cross, to which they tie the Legs and Arms of those miserable Wretches, and expose them to Gnats and other Flies, who sting them to death. The Children of those barbarous Parents, cut pieces of Flesh out of their Flanks, Thighs, or some other part of their Bodies; and when they have boyl'd it, force those poor Wretches to eat thereof. The *Iroquese* eat some pieces of it themselves, as well as their Children; and the better to inspire those little Canibals with Hatred for their Enemies, and the desire to extirpate them, they give them their Blood to drink in some little Porrengers made of Barks of Trees. Thus do these poor Creatures end their Life after a long and unspeakable Torment.

That horrid Cruelty oblig'd us to leave the Cabin, or Cotage of the chief Captain of that barbarous People, to shew them the Horrour we had of their Inhumanity, and never eat with them since, but return'd the same way we went through the Woods to the River *Niagara*. And this was all the success of our Ambassie.

CHAP. XVI.

A Description of a Ship of Sixty Tuns, which we built near the Streights of the Lake Erie, *during the Winter and Spring of the Year* 1679.

ON the 14th of *January* we arrived at our Habitation of *Niagara*, very weary of the Fatigues of our Voyage. We had no other Food but *Indian* Corn; but by good luck for us, the Fishery of the Whitings, I have already spoken of, was then in season, and made our *Indian* Corn more relishing. We made

made use of the Water, in which the Fish was boiled, instead of Broth of Meat; for when it grows cold in the Pot, it congeals it self like some Veal-Broth.

On the 20th arrived M. *de la Salle* from Fort *Frontenac*, from whence he was sent with a great Barque to supply us with Provisions, Rigging, and Tackling for the Ship we design'd to build at the Mouth of the Lake *Erie*; but that Barque was unfortunately cast away on the Southern Coast of the Lake *Ontario*, by the fault of two Pilots, who could not agree about the Course they were to steer, tho' they were then only within two Leagues of *Niagara*. The Sea-men have call'd this Place the *Mad-Cape*. The Anchors and Cables were sav'd, but several Canows made of Barks of Trees with Goods and Commodities were lost. These disappointments were such as would have diswaded from any farther Enterprize all other Persons but such who had form'd the generous Design of making a New Discovery in the Country.

M. *de la Salle* told us, that before he lost his Barque, he had been with the *Iroquese Tsonnontouans*, and had so dexterously gain'd their Affection, that they had talk'd to him of our Embassie with Applause, and had given him their Consent for the Execution of our Undertaking. This good Intelligence lasted but a little while; for certain Persons, who made it their Business to cross our Design, inspir'd the *Iroquese* with many Suspicions about the Fort we were building at *Niagara*, which was in a great forwardness; and their Suspicions grew so high, that we were oblig'd to give over our Building for some time, contenting our selves with an Habitation encompass'd with Palisado's.

On the 22th of the said Month, we went two Leagues above the great Fall of *Niagara*, where we made a Dock for Building the Ship we wanted for our Voyage. This was the most convenient place

we could pitch upon, being upon a River which falls into the Streight between the Lake *Erie* and the great Fall of *Niagara*. The 26th, the Keel of the Ship and some other Pieces being ready, M. *de la Salle* sent the Master-Carpenter to desire me to drive in the first Pin; but my Profession obliging me to decline that Honour, he did it himself, and promis'd Ten *Louis d'Or's*, to encourage the Carpenter and further the Work. The Winter being not half so hard in that Country as in *Canada*, we employ'd one of the two Savages of the Nation call'd the *Wolf*, whom we kept for Hunting, in building some Cabins made of Rinds of Trees; and I had one made on purpose to perform Divine Service therein on *Sundays*, and other occasions.

M. *de la Salle* having some urgent Business of his own, return'd to Fort *Frontenac*, leaving for our Commander one *Tonti*, an *Italian* by Birth, who had been forc'd to retire into *France* after the Revolution of *Naples*, in which his Father was concern'd. I conducted M. *de la Salle* as far as the Lake *Ontario*, at the Mouth of the River *Niagara*, where he order'd a House to be built for the Smith we had promis'd to the *Iroquese*; but this was only to amuze them, and therefore I cannot but own that the Savages are not to be blam'd for having not believ'd every thing they were told by M. *la Motte* in his Embassie already related.

He undertook his Journey a-foot over the Snow, having no other Provisions but a little Sack of *Indian* Corn roasted, which fail'd him two Days before he came to the Fort, which is above fourscore Leagues distant from the Place where he left us. However, he got home safely with two Men, and a Dog, who dragg'd his Baggage over the Ice, or frozen Snow.

When I return'd to our Dock, I understood that most of the *Iroquese* were gone to wage War with a Nation on the other side of the Lake *Erie*. In the mean

mean time, our Men continu'd with great Application to build our Ship; for the *Iroquese* who were left behind, being but a small number, were not so insolent as before, though they came now and then to our Dock, and expres'd some Discontent at what we were doing. One of them in particular, feigning himself drunk, attempted to kill our Smith, but was vigorously repuls'd by him with a red-hot Iron-barr, which, together with the Reprimand he receiv'd from me, oblig'd him to be gone. Some few Days after, a Savage Woman gave us notice, that the *Tsonnontouans* had resolv'd to burn our Ship in the Dock, and had certainly done it, had we not been always upon our Guard.

These frequent Alarms from the Natives, together with the Fears we were in of wanting Provisions, having lost the great Batque from Fort *Frontenac*, which should have reliev'd us, and the *Tsonnontouans* at the same time refusing to give us of their Corn for Money, were a great Discouragement to our Carpenters, whom, on the other hand, a Villain amongst us endeavour'd to seduce: That pitiful Fellow had several times attempted to run away from us into *New-York*, and would have been likely to pervert our Carpenters, had I not confirm'd them in their good Resolution, by the Exhortations I us'd to make every Holy-day after Divine Service; in which I represented to them, that the Glory of God was concern'd in our Undertaking, besides the Good and Advantage of our Christian Colonies; and therefore exhorted them to redouble their Diligence, in order to free our selves from all those Inconveniencies and Apprehensions we then lay under.

The two Savages we had taken into our Service, went all this while a Hunting, and supply'd us with Wild-Goats, and other Beasts for our Subsistence; which encourag'd our Workmen to go on with their Work more briskly than before, insomuch that in a

short time our Ship was in a readiness to be launch'd; which we did, after having bless'd the same according to the use of the *Romish* Church. We made all the haste we could to get it a-float, though not altogether finish'd, to prevent the Designs of the Natives, who had resolv'd to burn it.

The Ship was call'd the *Griffin*, alluding to the Arms of Count *Frontenac*, which have two *Griffins* for *Supporters*; and besides, M. *la Sal'e* us'd to say of this Ship, while yet upon the Stocks, That he would make the *Griffin* fly above the *Ravens*. We fir'd three Guns, and sung *Te Deum*, which was attended with loud Acclamations of Joy; of which those of the *Iroquese*, who were accidentally present at this Ceremony, were also Partakers; for we gave them some Brandy to drink, as well as to our Men, who immediately quitted their Cabins of Rinds of Trees, and hang'd their Hammocks under the Deck of the Ship, there to lie with more security than a-shoar. We did the like, insomuch that the very same Day we were all on board, and thereby out of the reach of the Insults of the Savages.

The *Iroquese* being return'd from Hunting Beavers, were mightily surpriz'd to see our Ship a-float, and call'd us *Otkon*, that is in their Language, *Most penetrating Wits*: For they could not apprehend how in so short a time we had been able to build so great a Ship, though it was but 60 Tuns. It might have been indeed call'd a moving Fortress; for all the Savages inhabiting the Banks of those Lakes and Rivers I have mention'd, for five hundred Leagues together, were fill'd with Fear as well as Admiration when they saw it.

The best Designs are often cross'd by some unexpected Accidents, which God permits to happen, to try Mens Constancy, as I experienc'd at that time. One of our Crew gave me notice, that the Sieur *de Tonti* our Commander entertain'd some Jealousie of me,

me, becauſe I kept a Journal of all the conſiderable Things that were tranſacted; and that he deſign'd to take the ſame from me. This Advice oblig'd me to ſtand upon my Guard, and take all other Precautions, to ſecure my Obſervations, and remove the Jealouſie that Gentleman had of me: For I had no other Deſign but to keep our Men to their Duty, and to Exerciſes of Piety and Devotion, for preventing Diſorders, and for the furtherance of our Common Undertaking.

In the mean time, our Enemies ſpread very diſadvantageous Reports of us in *Canada*, where we were repreſented as raſh and inconſiderate Perſons, for venturing upon ſo dangerous a Voyage, from which, in their Opinion, none of us would ever return. This, together with the Difficulties we labour'd under for tranſporting the Rigging of our Ship, and the other Inconveniencies neceſſarily attending a Voyage through an unknown Country, Lakes, and Rivers, where no *European* had travell'd before, and the Oppoſitions from the *Iroqueſe*, wrought in me an unparallel'd Vexation. But theſe Reports were ſtill more prejudicial to M. *la Salle*, whoſe Creditors, without enquiring into the Truth of the Matter, or expecting his Return from Fort *Frontenac*, ſeiz'd all his Effects in *Canada*; though that very Fort alone, the Property whereof belong'd to him, was worth twice more than all the Debts he ow'd. However, it being impoſſible to ſtop the Mouth of our Enemies, who had no other Deſign, but to oblige us to give over our Enterprize, notwithſtanding the Trouble and great Charge we had been at for our Preparations, we reſolv'd to wait with Patience, the Opportunities Divine Providence would preſent us with, and to purſue with Vigour and Conſtancy our Deſign.

Being thus prepar'd againſt all Diſcouragements, I went up in a Canou with one of our Savages to the

Mouth of the Lake *Erie*, notwithstanding the strong Current which I master'd with great difficulty. I sounded the Mouth of the Lake, and found, contrary to the Relations that had been made unto me, that a Ship with a brisk Gale might sail up to the Lake, and surmount the Rapidity of the Current; and that therefore with a strong North, or North-East Wind, we might bring our Ship into the Lake *Erie*. I took also a view of the Banks of the Streight, and found that in case of need we might put some of our Men a-shoar to hall the Ship, if the Wind was not strong enough.

CHAP. XVII.

The Author's Return to Fort Frontenac.

BEfore we could go on with our intended Discovery, I was oblig'd to return to Fort *Frontenac*, to bring along with me two Monks of my own Order, to help me in the Function of my Ministry. I left our Ship riding upon two Anchors, within a league and a half of the Lake *Erie*, in the Streight, between the said Lake and the great Fall of *Niagara*. Mr. *Charon*, an Inhabitant of *Canada*, desir'd to go with me, to avoid the ill Usage he receiv'd from M. *Tonti*, who was an irreconcileable Enemy of all the Subjects of the King of *Spain*, having been, as he thought, hardly us'd by the *Spaniards*, in the Revolution of *Naples*, in which he was concern'd as well as his Father.

We embark'd in a Canou with one of our Savages, and fell down the Streight till we came to the great Fall, where we went a-shoar, and carry'd our Canou over-land to the Foot of the great Rock already mention'd, and from thence we continu'd our Course to the Mouth of the Lake *Ontario*, where we

we found the Barque or Brigantine we have ſpoken of, which the Sieur *la Foreſt* had brought from Fort *Frontenac*. M. *la Foreſt* having ſpent ſome Days in that place for Bartering his Commodities with the Natives, we embark'd on board his Brigantine, together with fifteen or ſixteen Savage Women, who took the opportunity to ſail forty Leagues by Water, which otherwiſe they had been oblig'd to travel a-foot over-land through the Woods; but they not being us'd to this way of Travelling, fell ſo ſick, that their vomiting created an inſufferable Stink in our Ship. Being arriv'd into the River of *Aoueguen*, M. *la Foreſt* exchang'd ſome Brandy for Beaver-Skins; but I muſt confeſs this Commerce of Strong-Waters was never acceptable to me; for if the Savages drink but a little too much of that Liquor, they are worſe and more dangerous than mad Men. Having done our Buſineſs in that Place, we ſail'd from the Southern to the Northern Coaſts of the Lake; and the Wind being favourable we quickly paſs'd by the Village which lies on the other ſide of *Keute* and *Ganeouſſe*, but were becalm'd not far from Fort *Frontenac*, which oblig'd me to get into a Canou with two Savages to manage it. We landed in the Iſland of *Goilans*, ſo nam'd from Sea-Fouls of that Name, who abound in that Place, and lay their Eggs upon the Sand, where they are hatch'd by the Heat of the Sun. I carry'd away along with us four Baskets full of them, which we found very reliſhing in Omelets and Pancakes.

I was kindly receiv'd by four Miſſionaries of my own Order that I found there, *viz.* Father *Gabriel de la Ribourde*, *Luke Buiſſet*, *Zenobe Mambre*, and *Milithon Watteau*, all Natives of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. They told me that they knew how much I had ſuffer'd in my *Miſſion* during the Winter, and chiefly from that *Italian* who deſerted the Service of his Natural Prince, that is *Tonti* I have already ſpoken of. I

conceal'd part of the Discouragements I had met with, because I design'd to engage Fathers *Gabriel* and *Zenobe* in our Voyage, and also because I knew that M. *de la Salle*, whose Temper I was acquainted with by my own Experience, made a constant use of this famous Maxim, *Divide & impera*, to dispose with a greater facility of the Men under him to compass his own Designs: And having as great a Passion as he to discover some New Countries, I thought it best to make no Complaints, which he took very kindly, and receiv'd me in a very obliging manner.

That Gentleman was Judicious, and of extraordinary Parts, and very desirous to make himself famous by some New Discoveries, about which we had frequent Conferences. He told me several times, That he knew no Religious Order so fit as ours for improving New Colonies; and he was a very good Judge in those Matters, having spent nine or ten Years in another Order, of which he had disingag'd himself by Consent of the General, who in the Act of his Dismission under his own Hand, gives this noble Character of him, That he had liv'd amongst the Monks of his Order, without giving the least suspicion of *Venial Sin*. These are the very Words of the Act, for I have perus'd it my self. He likewise told me, That being persuaded that we might be very useful to him in his Designs, he was resolv'd to do something in favour of our Order; and having call'd us together on the 27*th* of *May*, 1679. he acquainted us, That being Proprietary and Governor of Fort *Frontenac*, he would order in his Will, That no other religious Order but ours, should he suffer'd to settle themselves near the Fort; he afterwards mark'd out a Church-yard; and having created a publick Notary, he order'd him to draw up an Instrument, whereby the said M. *la Salle* gave to our Order the Property of Eighteen Acres of Ground

along

along the side of the Lake *Ontario* near the Fort, and above a Hundred Acres more in the next Forest to be clear'd and grubb'd up. We accepted this Gift in the Name of our Order, and sign'd the Deed, which was the first that ever was transacted in that Country. The Notary's Name was *la Meterie*.

This being done, he desir'd those *Franciscans* that were to come with me, to prepare themselves for their Voyage; but the Wind being against us, we had a sufficient time for it, and to take our Measures concerning our dangerous Mission. We made frequent Visits to the Savages, whom we had persuaded to settle themselves near the Fort, who, together with their Children, whom we had taught to read and write, lamented much our Departure; and assur'd us, That if we did return in a short time, they would persuade the rest of the Inhabitants of the Village of *Ganeousse*, to come and settle themselves in the Neighbourhood of the Fort.

CHAP. XVIII.

An Account of our Second Embarkment from Fort Frontenac.

After some few Days, the Wind coming fair, Fathers *Gabriel*, *Zenobe*, and I, went on board the Brigantine, and in a short time arriv'd in the River of the *Tsonnontouans*, which runs into the Lake *Ontario*, where we continu'd several Days, our Men being very busie in bartering their Commodities with the Natives, who flock'd in great numbers about us to see our Brigantine, which they admir'd, and to exchange their Skins for Knives, Guns, Powder and Shot, but especially for Brandy, which they love above all things. In the mean time, we had built a small Cabin of Barks of Trees about half

half a League in the Woods, to perform Divine Service therein without interruptation, and waited till all our Men had done their Business. M. *la Salle* arriv'd in a Canou about eight Days after; he had taken his course by the Southern Coast of the Lake, to go to the Village of the *Tsonnontouans*, to whom he made several Presents to engage them in our Interest, and remove the Jealousie they had conceiv'd of our Undertaking, through the Suggestions of our Enemies. All these Impediments retarded us so long, that we could not reach the River *Niagara* before the 30th of *July*.

On the 4th of the said Month, I went over-land to the Fall of *Niagara*, with a Serjeant call'd *la Fleur*, and thence to our Dock within six Leagues of the Lake *Ontaria*; but we did not find there the Ship we had built: And met with a new Misforturne; for two young Savages robb'd us of the Bisket we had for our subsistance, which reduc'd us to great Extremity. We found at last a half rotten Canou without Oars, which we mended as well as we could; and having made an Oar, we ventur'd our selves in that weak and shatter'd Canou, and went up the Streight to look for our Ship, which we found riding within a league of the pleasant Lake *Erie*. We were very kindly receiv'd, and likewise very glad to find our Ship well rigg'd, and ready fitted out with all the Necessaries for sailing. She carry'd five small Guns, two whereof were Brass, and three Harquebuze *a-crock*. The Beak-head was adorn'd with a flying Griffin, and an Eagle above it; and the rest of the Ship had the same Ornaments as Men of War use to have.

The *Iroquese* were then returning from a Warlike Expedition with several Slaves, and were much surpriz'd to see so big a Ship, which they compar'd to a Fort, beyond their Limits. Several came on board, and seem'd to admire above all things the bigness of

our

our Anchors; for they could not apprehend how we had been able to bring them through the rapid Currents of the River St. *Laurence*. This oblig'd them to uſe often the Word *Gannorom*, which in their Language ſignifies, That is wonderful. They wonder'd alſo to find there a Ship, having ſeen none when they went; and did not know from whence it came, it being about 250 Leagues from *Canada*.

Having forbid the Pilot to attempt to ſail up the Currents of the Streight till farther order, we return'd the 16th and 17th to the Lake *Ontario*, and brought up our Bark to the great Rock of *Niagara*, and anchor'd at the foot of the three Mountains, where we were oblig'd to make our *Portage*; that is, to carry over-land our Canou's and Proviſions, and other Things, above the great Fall of the River, which interrupts the Navigation: And becauſe moſt of the Rivers of that Country are interrupted with great Rocks, and that therefore thoſe who ſail upon the ſame, are oblig'd to go over-land above thoſe Falls, and carry upon their Backs their Canou's and other Things. They expreſs it with this Word, To make our *Portage*; of which the Reader is deſir'd to take notice, for otherwiſe the following Account, as well as the Map, would be unintilligible to many.

Father *Gabriel*, though of Sixty five Years of Age, bore with great Vigour the Fatigue of that Voyage, and went thrice up and down thoſe three Mountains, which are pretty high and ſteep. Our Men had a great deal of trouble; for they were oblig'd to make ſeveral Turns to carry the Proviſions and Ammunition, and the Portage was two Leagues long. Our Anchors were ſo big, that four Men had much ado to carry one; but the Brandy we gave them was ſuch an Encouragement, that thy ſurmounted cheerfully all the Difficulties of that Journey; and ſo we got on board our

Ship

Ship all our Provisions, Ammunitions, and Commodities.

While we continu'd there, M. *la Salle* told me, That he understood by some of our Men, that I very much blam'd the Intrigues of some Monks of *Canada* with the *Iroquese*, and their Neighbours of *New-York* and *New-Orange*; which oblig'd me in his presence, to tell my Brethren the *Franciscans*, That I perceiv'd that M. *la Salle* was minded to surprize me, and oblige me to revile some Persons, whom he represented as Traders and Merchants; and then abating somewhat of my Tone, I concluded, That notwithstanding the false Reports that had been made to him, I would entertain a good Opinion of those very Persons whom he design'd to make my Enemies; and that I wou'd rather give over our Enterprize than be impos'd upon at that rate. This vigorous Answer surpriz'd M. *la Salle*, who told me, That he was persuaded that those who had made him those Reports, were not honest Men; and that therefore he would take all imaginable care of my Person during the Voyage, and espouse my Interest on all occasions. He was indeed afraid that I should leave him, which had been a great disappointment to his Affairs; for Father *Gabriel* would have left him also. That good Man was come with us without any leave of his Superiour, only upon a Letter from the Provincial Commissioner of *Canada*, whose Name was *Valentin le Roux*, wherein he told M. *la Salle*, that the said Father *Gabriel* might go along with him. However, he did not believe that he would do so without an Order in Writing; and for that reason came, some Days after our departure, to Fort *Frontenac*, where M. *la Salle* obtain'd that Order from him, for fear of being accus'd to have expos'd a Man of that Age to so dangerous a Voyage, in which he was like to perish, as really he did, as we shall see by and by.

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M. *la Salle* understanding that I and the said Father *Gabriel*, were gone to view the great Fall of *Niagara*, he came to us with some Refreshments to reconcile himself with me, and prevent my return to *Canada*. He met with no great difficulty; for the great desire I had to discover a New Country, made me very easie; so that we return'd on board our Ship in the beginning of *August*, 1679.

CHAP. XIX.

An Account of our Third Embarkment from the Mouth of the Lake Erie.

WE have already observ'd, that the *Spaniards* were the first Discoverers of *Canada*, and that the *Recollects* are the first Religious Order, who attended the *French* Colonies in that Country. Those Good Men liv'd in great Friendship with the Savages call'd *Hurons*, by whom they understood that the *Iroquese* made frequent Excursions beyond *Virginia* and *New-Sweden*, near a great Lake, from whence they brought a great many Slaves; which gave occasion to the *Hurons* to call that Lake *Erige*, or *Erike*; that is to say, the Lake of the *Cat*. The Inhabitants of *Canada* have softned that Word, and call it *Erie*, as we have already observ'd.

We endeavour'd several times to sail up that Lake; but the Wind being not strong enough, we were forc'd to wait for it. In the mean time, M. *la Salle* caus'd our Men to grub up some Land, and sow several sorts of Pot-Herbs and Pulse, for the conveniency of those who should settle themselves there, to maintain our Correspondence with Fort *Frontenac*. We found there a great quantity of wild Cherries and *Rocambol*, a sort of Garlick, which grow naturally in that Ground. We left Father *Melithon*, with some

some Work-men, at our Habitation above the Fall of *Niagara*; and most of our Men went a-shoar to lighten our Ships, the better to sail up the Lake.

The Wind veering to the North-East, and the Ship being well provided, we made all the Sail we could, and with the help of Twelve Men who hall'd from the Shoar, overcame the Rapidity of the Current, and got up into the Lake. The Stream is so violent, that our Pilot himself despair'd of Success. When it was done, we sung *Te Deum*, and discharg'd our Cannon and other Fire-Arms, in presence of a great many *Iroquese*, who came from a Warlike Expedition against the Savages of *Tintonha*; that is to say, the *Nation of the Meadows*, who live above four hundred Leagues from that Place. The *Iroquese* and their Prisoners were much surpriz'd to see us in the Lake, and did not think before that, we should be able to overcome the Rapidity of the Current: They cry'd several times *Gannorom*, to shew their Admiration. Some of the *Iroquese* had taken the measure of our Ship, and immediately went for *New-York*, to give notice to the *English* and *Dutch* of our sailing into the Lake: For those Nations affording their Commodities cheaper than the *French*, are also more belov'd by the Natives.

On the 7th of *August*, 1679. we went on board, being in all four and thirty Men, including two *Recollects* who came to us, and sail'd from the Mouth of the Lake *Erie*, steering our Course West-South-West, with a favourable Wind; and though the Enemies of our Discovery had given out, on purpose to deterr us from our Enterprize, That the Lake *Erie* was full of Rocks and Sands, which render'd the Navigation impracticable, we run above twenty Leagues during the Night, though we sounded all that while. The next Day the Wind being more favourable, we made above five and forty Leagues, keeping at an equal distance from the Banks of the Lake, and doubled a

Cape

Cape to the Weſt-ward, which we call'd the Cape of *St. Francis*. The next Day we doubled two other Capes, and met with no manner of Rocks or Sands. We diſcover'd a pretty large Iſland towards the South-Weſt, about ſeven or eight Leagues from the Northern Coaſt; that Iſland faces the Streight that comes from the Lake *Huron*.

The 10th, very early in the Morning, we paſs'd between that Iſland and 7 or 8 leſſer ones; and having ſail'd near another, which is nothing but Sand, to the Weſt of the Lake, we came to an Anchor at the Mouth of the Streight, which runs from the Lake *Huron* into that of *Erie*. The 11th, we went farther into the Streight, and paſs'd between two ſmall Iſlands, which make one of the fineſt Proſpects in the World. This Streight is finer than that of *Niagara*, being thirty Leagues long, and every-where one League broad, except in the middle, which is wider, forming the Lake we have call'd *St. Claire*. The Navigation is eaſie on both ſides, the Coaſt being low and even. It runs directly from North to South.

The Country between thoſe two Lakes is very well ſituated, and the Soil very fertile. The Banks of the Streight are vaſt Meadows, and the Proſpect is terminated with ſome Hills covered with Vineyards, Trees bearing good Fruit, Groves, and Foreſts, ſo well diſpos'd, that one would think Nature alone could not have made, without the Help of Art, ſo charming a Proſpect. That Country is ſtock'd with Stags, Wild-Goats, and Bears, which are good for Food, and not fierce as in other Countries; ſome think they are better than our Pork. Turkey-Cocks and Swans are there alſo very common; and our Men brought ſeveral other Beaſts and Birds, whoſe Names are unknown to us, but they are extraordinary reliſhing.

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The Forests are chiefly made up of Walnut-trees, Chesnut-trees, Plum-trees, and Pear-trees, loaded with their own Fruit and Vines. There is also abundance of Timber fit for Building; so that those whose who shall be so happy as to inhabit that Noble Country, cannot but remember with Gratitude those who have discover'd the way, by venturing to sail upon an unknown Lake for above one hundred Leagues. That charming Streight lies between 40 and 41 Degrees of Northern Latitude.

CHAP. XX.

An Account of what hapned in our Passage from the Lake Erie, *unto the Lake* Huron.

I Had often advis'd M. *la Salle* to make a Settlement upon the Streight,, between the Lake *Erie* and *Ontario*, where the Fishery is more plentiful; for that Settlement would have been very advantageous to us, to maintain our Communication with Fort *Frontenac*. I told him also, that it were fit to leave in that Settlement the Smith he and M. *la Motte* had promis'd to the *Iroquese*; and that it would be a means to engage that wild Nation in our Interest, and to trade only with us, whereby he would grow rich in a little time: But M. *la Salle*, and the Adventurers who were with him, would not hearken to my Advice; and told me, that they would make no Settlement within 100 Leagues of their Fort, lest other *Europeans* should get before them into the Country they were going to discover. This was their Pretence; but I soon observ'd that their Intention was to buy all the Furrs and Skins of the remotest Savages, who, as they thought, did not know their Value; and so inrich themselves in one single Voyage.

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I endeavour'd alſo to perſwade him to make a Settlement upon this charming Streight; for being in the midſt of ſo many Nations of Savages, we could not but have a good Trade amongſt them. This was the Argument I made uſe of; but the main Reaſon, which I kept to my ſelf, was to have an Opportunity to preach the Goſpel to thoſe ignorant Nations. M. *la Salle* would by no means hearken to my Advice, and told me he wonder'd at my Propoſal, conſidering the great Paſſion I had a few Months before for the Diſcovery of a New Country.

The Current of that Streight is very violent, but not half ſo much as that of *Niagara*; and therefore we ſail'd up with a brisk Gale, and got into the Streight between the Lake *Huron*, and the Lake *St. Claire*; this laſt is very ſhallow, eſpecially at its Mouth. The Lake *Huron* falls into this of *St. Claire* by ſeveral Canals, which are commonly interrupted by Sands and Rocks. We ſounded all of them, and found one at laſt about one League broad without any Sands, its Depth being every where from three to eight Fathoms Water. We ſail'd up that Canal, but were forc'd to drop our Anchors near the Mouth of the Lake; for the extraordinary quantity of Waters which came down from the upper Lake, and that of *Illinois*, becauſe of a ſtrong North-Weſt Wind, had ſo much augmented the Rapidity of the Current of this Streight, that it was as violent as that of *Niagara*.

The Wind turning Southerly, we ſail'd again; and with the help of twelve Men, who hall'd our Ship from the Shoar, got ſafely the 23th of *Auguſt* into the Lake *Huron*. We ſung *Te Deum* a ſecond time, to return our Thanks to the Almighty for our happy Navigation. We found in that Lake a large Bay, the Banks of which the ancient *Hurons* inhabited. They were converted to the Chriſtian Religi-

on by the first *Franciscans* that came into *Canada*; but the *Iroquese* have in a great measure destroy'd that Nation.

CHAP. XXI.

An Account of our Navigation on the Lake Huron *to* Missilimakinak.

HAving thus travell'd above 300 Leagues from *Quebec* to the Lake *Huron*, notwithstanding the rapid Currents and Lakes we went through, we continu'd our Voyage from the Mouth of this Lake, steering our Course North-North-East; but the next day, finding our selves near the Land, we steer'd North-North-West, and cross'd a Bay call'd *Sakinam*, which may be thirty Leagues broad. The 24th, we run the same Course, but were becalm'd between some Islands, where we found but two Fathoms Water, which oblig'd us to make an easie sail part of the Night, to look for a good Anchorage, but in vain; and the Wind turning then Westerly, we bore to the North, to avoid the Coast till the Day appear'd. We sounded all the Night long, because our Pilot, though a very understanding Man, was somewhat negligent. The 25th, we lay becalm'd till Noon, but then run North-West with a brisk Southerly Gale. The Wind turning South-West, we bore to the North to double a Cape; but then the Wind grew so violent, that we were forc'd to lie by all the Night. The 26th, the Storm continuing, we brought down our Main Yards and Top-Mast, and let the Ship drive at the Mercy of the Wind, knowing no place to run into to shelter our selves. M. *la Salle*, notwithstanding he was a Courageous Man, began to fear, and told us we were undone; and therefore every body fell upon his Knees to say his Prayers, and

and prepare himſelf for Death, except our Pilot, whom we could never oblige to pray; and he did nothing all that while but curſe and ſwear againſt M. *la Salle*, who, as he ſaid, had brought him thither to make him periſh in a naſty Lake, and loſe the Glory he had acquir'd by his long and happy Navigations on the Ocean, However, the Wind being ſomewhat abated, we hoiſted up our Sail, and ſo we drove not above two Leagues. The 27th, in the Morning, we continu'd our Courſe North-Weſt with a South-Eaſt Wind, which carry'd us the ſame Day to *Miſſilimakinak*, where we anchor'd in a Bay at ſix Fathoms Water, upon a ſlimy white Bottom. That Bay is ſhelter'd by the Coaſt, and a Bank lying from the South-Weſt to the North; but it lies expos'd to the South Winds, which are very violent in that Country.

Miſſilimakinak is a Neck of Land to the North of the Mouth of the Streight, through which the Lake of the *Illinois* diſcharges it ſelf into the Lake *Huron*. That Canal is about three Leagues long, and one broad. About fifteen Leagues to the Eaſtward of *Miſſilimakinak*, there is another Point at the Mouth of the Streight, whereby the upper Lake runs into that of *Huron*; which Streight is about five Leagues broad at its Mouth, and about fifteen Leagues long; but it grows narrow towards the Fall of *St. Mary*, which is a rapid Stream interrupted by ſeveral Rocks. However a Canow may go up by one ſide, but it requires a great Fatigue; and therefore the ſafeſt and eaſieſt way is to make a Portage above the Fall, to go and trade with the Savages inhabiting the Banks of the upper Lake.

We lay between two different Nations of Savages; thoſe who inhabit the Point of *Miſſilimakinak* are called *Hurons*, and the others, who are about three or four Leagues more Northward, are *Outtaouatz*. Thoſe Savages were equally ſurprz'd to ſee

a Ship in their Country; and the Noise of our Cannon, of which we made a general Discharge, fill'd them with great astonishment. We went to see the *Outtaouatz*, and celebrated Mass in their Habitation. M. *la Salle* was finely dress'd, having a Scarlet Cloak with a broad Gold Lace, and most of his Men with their Arms attended him. The Chief Captains of that People receiv'd us with great Civilities after their own way, and some of them came on board with us to see our Ship, which rode all that while in the Bay or Creek I have spoken of. It was a diverting Prospect to see every Day above sixscore Canou's about it, and the Savages staring and admiring that fine Woodden Canou, as they call'd it. They brought us abundance of Whitings, and some Trouts of 50 and 60 pound Weight.

We went the next Day to pay a Visit to the *Hurons*, who inhabit a rising Ground on a Neck of Land over-against *Missilimakinak*. Their Villages are fortifi'd with Pallisado's of 25 foot high, and always situated upon Eminences or Hills. They receiv'd us with more Respect than the *Outtaouatz*, for they made a triple Discharge of all the small Guns they had, having learn'd from some *Europeans*, that it is the greatest Civility amongst us. However, they took such a Jealousie to our Ship, that, as we understood since, they endeavour'd to make our Expedition odious to all the Nations about them.

The *Hurons* and *Outtaouatz* are in Confederacy together against the *Iroquese* their Common Enemy. They sow *Indian* Corn, which is their ordinary Food; for they have nothing else to live upon, except some Fish they take in the Lakes. They boil it with their *Sagamittee*, which is a kind of Broth made with Water and the Flour of the Corn, which they beat in a Mortar, made of the Trunk of a Tree, which they make hollow with Fire.

There

There is another Settlement of Savages near the Fall of *St. Mary*. The *French* call them *Leapers*, becauſe they live near that great Fall which they call a *Leap*. Theſe ſubſiſt together by Hunting Staggs, Elks, Beavers, and other Beaſts, as alſo upon the Whitings we have already ſpoken of; who are taken with ſo much difficulty in this Place, that none but themſelves are able to catch any. They ſow no *Indian* Corn, becauſe of the thick Fogs that are commonly on the Banks of the upper Lake, which ſtifle Corn before it grows.

Miſſilimakinak and the Fall of St. *Mary*, are the two moſt conſiderable Paſſages that all the Savages have of the Weſt and North; for there are above two hundred Canou's that come through theſe Paſſes every Year, to carry their Commodities to the *French* at *Montreal* below Fort *Frontenac*.

Our Enterprize had been very ſucceſsful hitherto; and we had reaſon to expect, that every body would have contributed to carry on vigorouſly our great Deſign to promote the Glory of God, as well as the Good of our Colonies: However, ſome of our own Men oppos'd it as much as they could; they repreſented us to the *Outtoauats* and their Neighbours as dangerous and ambitious Adventurers, who deſign'd to engroſs all the Trade of Furrs and Skins, and invade their Liberty, the only thing which is dear to that People. The fifteen Men that M. *la Salle* had ſent before him, had been ſeduc'd and almoſt drawn from his Service. The Goods which he had given them to exchange with the Natives, were diſſipated and waſted; and inſtead of advancing as far as the *Illinois*, as they were order'd, they remain'd amongſt the *Hurons*, notwithſtanding the Exhortations and the Prayers of M. *Tonti* who Commanded them.

Our Men went into the Country to trade with the Natives, and engag'd themſelves too far; ſo that they did not return to *Miſſilimakinak* till *November*:

M. *la Salle* being told that the Winds made the Navigation of the Lake very dangerous in the beginning of the Winter, resolv'd to continue his Voyage without tarrying any longer for the return of his Men.

CHAP. XXII.

An Account of our Sailing from Missilimakinak, *into the Lake of the* Illinois.

ON the 2d of *September* we weigh'd Anchor, and sail'd into the Lake of the *Illinois*; and came to an Island just at the Mouth of the Bay of the *Puans*, lying about forty Leagues from *Missilimakinak*: It is inhabited by some Savages of the Nation call'd *Poutouatami's*, with whom some of the Men M. *la Salle* had sent the Year before, had barter'd a great quantity of Furrs and Skins. We found our Men in the Island, who began to be very impatient, having so long waited our arrival.

The chief of that Nation had been formerly in *Canada*, and had an extraordinary Respect for Count *Frontenac*, who was Governour thereof; and upon that account receiv'd us with all the civility imaginable, and caus'd his Men to dance the *Calumet*, or Pipe, before us. This is a piece of Civility we shall describe anon. Our Ship was riding in the Bay about thirty Paces from the furthermost Point of the Land, at a pretty good Anchorage, where we rode safely, notwithstanding a violent Storm which lasted four Days. And upon this occasion, I cannot omit, without Injustice, the Generosity of that Brave Captain, who seeing our Ship toss'd up by the Waves, and not knowing it was able to resist, ventur'd himself in his little Canou, and came to our assistance. He had the good Luck to get safe on board, and told

told us he would at all times venture his Life, for saving the Children of *Onnontio*, Governour of *Canada*, who was his particular Friend. It must be observ'd, that that Governour is call'd *Onnontio* by all the Savages.

M. *la Salle*, without asking any body's Advice, resolv'd to send back his Ship to *Niagara*, laden with Furrs and Skins to discharge his Debts; our Pilot and five Men with him were therefore sent back, and order'd to return with all imaginable speed, to join us toward the Sourthen Parts of the Lake, where we should stay for them among the *Illinois*. They sailed the 18th of *September* with a Westerly Wind, and fir'd a Gun to take their leave. Tho' the Wind was favourable, it was never known what Course they steer'd, nor how they perish'd; for after all the Enquiries we have been able to make, we could never learn any thing else but the following Particulars.

The Ship came to an Anchor to the North of the Lake of the *Illinois*, where she was seen by some Savages, who told us that they advised our Men to sail along the Coast, and not towards the middle of the Lake, because of the Sands that make the Navigation dangerous when there is any high Wind. Our Pilot, as I said before, was dissatisfy'd, and would steer as he pleas'd, without hearkning to the Advice of the Savages, who, generally speaking, have more Sense than the *Europeans* think at first; but the Ship was hardly a League from the Coast, when it was toss'd up by a violent Storm in such a manner, that our Men were never heard of since; and it is suppos'd that the Ship struct upon a Sand, and was there bury'd. This was a great loss for M. *la Salle* and other Adventurers; for that Ship, with its Cargo, cost above sixty thousand Livres. This will seem incredible to many, but not to those who will consider that the Rigging, Anchors, and Goods were

brought by Canou's from *Quebec* to Fort *Frontenac*; which is such a vast Charge, that the Carriage of every hundred Weight, either of Anchors, Cabels, and the like, cost eleven Livres.

CHAP. XXIII.

An Account of our Embarkment in Canows to continue our Discovery, from the Bay of Puans, *to the* Miamis *on the Lake of the* Illinois.

WE left the *Poutouatamis* on the 19th of *September* to continue our Voyage, being fourteen Men in all, in four Canou's. I had the Conduct of the smallest, though it carry'd 500 Weight and two Men; but my Fellow being newly come from *Europe*, and consequently unskill'd to manage these sort of Boats, I had the whole trouble upon me in any stormy Weather. The other four Canou's were laden with a Smith's Forge, and Instruments, and Tools for Carpenters, Joyners, and Sawers, besides our Goods and Arms.

We steer'd to the South towards the Continent, from which the Island of the *Poutouatamis* is near forty Leagues distant; but about the middle of the way, in the Night-time, we were surpriz'd with a sudden Storm, whereby we were in great danger. The Waves came into our Canou's; and the Night was so dark, that we had much ado to keep Company together: However, we got a-shoar the next Day, where we continu'd till the Lake grew calm again, which was four Days after. In the mean time our Savage went a Hunting, but could kill nothing but a *Porcupine*, which made our Gourds and *Indian* Corn more relishing.

The

The Weather being fair, we continu'd our Voyage the 25th, and row'd all the Day, and beſt part of the Night, all along the Weſtern Coaſt of the Lake of the *Illinois*; but the Wind growing too high for us, we thought fit to land upon a Rock, where we had nothing to ſhelter our ſelves againſt the Snow and the Rain but our Blankets. We continu'd there two Days, having made a little Fire with the Wood the Waves did ſupply us with. The 28th we proceeded on our Voyage; but the Wind forc'd us towards Night on a Rock cover'd with thick Buſhes, where we remain'd three Days, and there made an end of all our Proviſions, which conſiſted of Gourds and *Indian* Corn we had brought from the *Poutouatami's*. Our Canou's were ſo loaded, that we could not provide our ſelves for a longer time, and we expected to find proviſions enough in our way.

We left that diſmal Place the *1ſt* of *October*, and after twelve Leagues rowing, though faſting, came to another Village of the *Poutouatami's*, who came upon the Shoar to receive us: But M. *la Salle* would not ſuffer any one to land, leſt his Men ſhould run away; and notwithſtanding the bad Weather, we follow'd him three Leagues farther. We were in ſo great danger, that he flung himſelf into the Water with his three Men, and carry'd a-ſhoar their Canou upon their Shoulders, for elſe it had been broken to pieces. We were all oblig'd to do the ſame; and by theſe means ſav'd our Canou's and Goods. I carry'd upon my Back that good Man Father *Gabriel*, whoſe great Age did not permit him to venture himſelf into the Water.

As we had no manner of Acquaintance with the Savages of the Village near which we landed, our Men prepar'd themſelves to make a vigorous Defence in caſe they were attack'd; and in order to it, poſſeſſed our ſelves of a riſing Ground, where we could not be

be surpriz'd, and where we might make head against a great number of Savages. We sent afterwards three Men to buy Provisions in the Village with the *Calumet* or Pipe of Peace, which the *Poutouatami's* of the Island had given us. I had forgot to mention that when they made us that Present, they observ'd a great many Ceremonies; and because that *Calumet* of Peace is the most sacred Thing amongst the Savages, I think fit to describe the same in the next Chapter.

CHAP. XXIV.

A Description of the Calumet, *or Great Pipe.*

THis *Calumet* is the most mysterious Thing in the World among the Savages of the Continent of the Northern *America*; for it is us'd in all their important Transactions: However, it is nothing else but a large Tobacco-Pipe made of Red, Black, or White Marble: The Head is finely polish'd, and the *Quill*, which is commonly two Foot and a half long; is made of a pretty strong Reed, or Cane, adorn'd with Feathers of all Colours, interlac'd with Locks of Womens Hair. They tie to it two Wings of the most curious Birds they find, which makes their *Calumet* not much unlike *Mercury's* Wand, or that Staff Ambassadors did formerly carry when they went to treat of Peace. They sheath that Reed into the Neck of Birds they call *Huars*, which are as big as our Geese, and spotted with Black and White; or else of a sort of Ducks who make their Nests upon Trees, though Water be their ordinary Element, and whose Feathers are of many different Colours. However, every Nation adorns the *Calumet* as they think fit according to their own Genius and the Birds they have in their Country.

A Pipe,

A Pipe, ſuch as I have deſcrib'd it, is a Paſs and ſafe Conduct amongſt all the Allies of the Nation who has given it; and in all Embaſſies, the Ambaſſadors carry that *Calumet* as the Symbol of Peace, which is always reſpected; for the Savages are generally perſuaded, that a great Misfortune would befal 'em, if they violated the Publick Faith of the *Calumet* All their Enterprizes, Delarations of War, or Concluſion of Peace, as well as all the reſt of their Ceremonies, are ſealed, if I may be permitted to ſay ſo, with this *Calumet*. They fill that Pipe with the beſt Tobacco they have, and then preſent it to thoſe with whom they have concluded any great Affair, and ſmoak out of the ſame after them. I had certainly periſh'd in my Voyage, had it not been for this *Calumet* or Pipe, as the Reader will obſerve in peruſing the following Account.

Our three Men, provided with this Pipe as a Paſs, and very well Arm'd, went to the little Village of the Savages, which was about three Leagues from the place where we landed; but they found no body therein; for the Savages having heard that we had refus'd to land at the other Village, thought we were Enemies, and therefore had left their Habitation. Our Men finding no body in their Cabins, took ſome *Indian* Corn, and left in ſtead of it ſome Goods, to let them ſee that we were no Robbers, nor their Enemies. However, the Savages, to the number of twenty Men, arm'd with Axes, ſmall Guns, Bows, and a ſort of Club, which in their Language they call *Break-heads*, advanc'd near the Place where we ſtood; whereupon M. *la Salle*, with four Men very well arm'd, went toward them to ſpeak with them, and deſir'd them to come near us, for fear, as he ſaid, a Party of our Men, who were gone a Hunting, ſhould meet with them and kill them. They were perſuaded to ſit down at the foot of the Eminence where we were poſted, and M. *la Salle*

Salle spoke to them all the while of the subject matter of his Voyage, which he had undertaken for their good and advantage, as he told them. This was only to amuse them till our three Men return'd; who appearing with the *Calumet* of Peace, the Savages made a great Shout, and rose, and began to dance. We made them some Excuse because of our Men having taken some of their Corn, and told them they had left the true Value of it in Goods; which they took so well, that they sent immediately for more, and gave us the next Day as much as we could conveniently carry in our Canou's. They retir'd towards the Evening; and M. *la Salle* order'd some Trees to be cut down, and laid cross the way, to prevent any Surprize from the Savages.

The next Morning about ten a Clock, the Oldest of them came to us with their *Calumet* of Peace, and entertain'd us with some wild Goats they had taken. We return'd them our Thanks, and presented them with some Axes, Knives, and several little Toys for their Wives, with which they were very much pleas'd.

CHAP. XXV.

A Continuation of our Discovery; with an Account of our Navigation to the farther End of the Lake of the Illinois *in our Canous.*

WE left that Place the 2d of *October*, and continu'd our Voyage all along the Coast of the Lake, which is so steep that we could hardly find any Place to land; and the Violence of the Wind oblig'd us to drag our Canou's sometimes to the top of the Rocks, to prevent their being dash'd in pieces by the Waves. The stormy Weather

ther lasted four Days, during which we suffer'd very much; for every time we went a-shoar we were forc'd to step into the Water, and carry our Canou's upon our Shoulders, and to do the like when we embark'd again. The Water being very cold, most of us were sick, and our Provisions fail'd us again; which, together with the Fatigues of Rowing, caus'd old Father *Gabriel* to faint away in such a manner, that I verily thought he could not live; however, I brought him again to his Senses by means of some Confection of *Hyacinth*, which I found very useful in our Voyage. We had no other Subsistence but a handful of *Indian* Corn once every four and twenty Hours, which we roasted, or else boyled in Water; and yet we row'd almost every Day from Morning 'till Night. Our Men found some Hawthorn-Berries and other wild Fruit, which they ate so greedily, that most of them fell sick, and were thought to be poison'd; yet the more we suffer'd, the more by the Grace of God I was strong and vigorous; so that I could often out-row all our other Canou's.

Being in that distress, He that takes care of the meanest Creatures, afforded us an unexpected Relief; We saw upon the Coast a great many Ravens and Eagles; from whence we conjectur'd that there was some Prey; and having landed on that Place, we found above the half of a fat wild Goat, which the Wolves had strangled. This Provision was very acceptable to us, and the rudest of our Men could not but praise the Divine Providence, who took so particular a care of us.

Having thus refresh'd our selves, we continu'd our Voyage directly to the Sourthern Parts of the Lake, finding every day the Country finer, and the Weather more temperate. On the 16th of *October* we met with abundance of Game: Our Savage kill'd several Staggs and wild Goats, and our Men

a great many Turkey-Cocks very fat and big, wherewith we provided our selves for several Days, and so embark'd again. On the 18th we came to the farther end of the Lake, where we landed: Our Men were immediately sent to view the Country round about that Place, and found a great quantity of ripe Grapes, each Grain of which was as big as a Damascen: We fell'd several Trees to gather them, and made pretty good Wine, which we kept in Gourds, and bury'd in Sand to prevent its growing sour. All the Trees in that Country are loaded with Vines, which, if cultivated, would make as good Wine as any in *Europe*. That Fruit was more relishing to us than Flesh, because we wanted Bread.

Our Men discover'd some fresh Prints of Mens Feet, which oblig'd us to stand upon our Guard, without making any Noise till we had rested some time. That Order was not long observ'd; for one of our Men having espy'd a Bear upon a Tree, shot him down dead, and dragg'd him to our Cabins. M. *la Salle* was very angry with him, and to avoid any Surprize, put a Sentinal near our Canou's, under which we had put our Goods to shelter 'em from the Rain.

There were sixscore Savages of the Nation of the *Outtouagamis* inhabiting the Bay of *Puans*, encamp'd not far from us; who having heard the Noise our Man had made, took the Alarm, and sent some of their Men to discover who we were. These creeping upon their Bellies, and keeping great Silence, came in the Night to our Canou's, and stole away the Coat of M. *la Salle*'s Footman, and part of the Goods that were under it: But the Sentinel having heard some Noise, call'd us, and every body run to his Arms. The Savages being discover'd, and thinking we were more numerous, cry'd, That they were Friends; but we answer'd them, That Friends did not come in so unseasonable Hours; and that they

they look'd rather like Robbers, who design'd to murther us: Their Captain reply'd, That having heard the Noise of a Gun, and knowing that none of their Neighbours use Fire-Arms, they thought we were a Party of *Iroquese*, and were come with a Design to murther them; but that understanding we were some *Europeans* of *Canada*, whom they lov'd as their Brethren, they could hardly wait till Day to visit us, and smoak in our *Calumet*, or large Pipe. This is the usual Compliment of the Savages, and the greatest Mark they can give of their Affection.

We seem'd to be satisfy'd with their Reasons, and gave leave to four of them only to come to us, telling them that we would not suffer a great number because their Youth was addicted to steal, and that our Men could not suffer it. Four old Men came to us, whom we entertain'd till Day, and then they retir'd. After they were gone, we found we had been robb'd; and knowing the Genius of the Savages, and that if we did suffer this Affront, we should be expos'd every Night to their Insults; it was resolv'd to exact Satisfaction from them: Accordingly M. *la Salle* went abroad with some of our Men, to endeavour to take some of them Prisoners; and having discover'd one of their Hunters, he seiz'd him, and examin'd him concerning the Robbery they had committed: He confess'd the Fact, with all the Circumstances; whereupon he left him to the custody of two Men; and advancing farther into the Country, took another, whom he brought along with him, and having shew'd him his Companion, sent him back to tell their Captain, That he would kill him, unless they return'd what they had robb'd.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

An Account of the Peace made between us and the Outtouagami's.

THE Savages were mightily puzzl'd at the Message sent by M. *la Salle*; for having cut in pieces the Coat, and other Goods they had stoll'n, and divided the Buttons, they could not make a full Restitution; and therefore they resolv'd to deliver their Man by force; and accordingly the next Morning, *October* 30. they advanc'd to attack us. The *Peninsula* where we were encamp'd, was separated from the Forest, where the Savages lay, by a little sandy Plain; and there being near the Wood two or three Eminences, M. *la Salle* resolv'd to possess himself of the higher, and detach'd five Men for that Service, following himself at a little distance with the rest, every one having roll'd his Covering about the left Arm, to defend themselves against the Arrows of the Savages; for there was not above eight of them who had Fire-Arms.

The Savages seeing our Men advancing up to them, were frighted; and the youngest retir'd behind a great Tree, but their Captains stood their ground, while we possessed our selves of the Eminence I have already mention'd. I left the two *Franciscans* reading the usual Prayers, and went with our Men to exhort them to their duty; for having seen some Battels and Sieges in *Europe*, I was very little afraid of the Savages. I saw two of our Men turning pale; but when I had spoken to them, they seem'd hearty enough; and M. *la Salle* was mightily pleas'd with my Exhortations. However I consider'd the consequence this Quarrel might have, and how advantageous and Christian-like it would be to prevent

vent the effuſion of Blood, and end it in a friendly manner; therefore I advanc'd towards the oldeſt Savage, who ſeeing me without any Arms, thought I came with a deſign to be Mediator, and receiv'd me with Civility; but in the mean time one of our Men having obſerv'd, that one of the Savages had a piece of the Cloth they had ſtoll'n about his Head, came up to him, and ſnatch'd it away. That vigorous Action ſo much terrify'd the Savages, that though they were near ſixſcore Men againſt eleven, they preſented me the Pipe or *Calumet* of Peace, which I receiv'd. M. *la Salle* having paſs'd his Word that they might come ſafe to him, two old Men told him in a Speech, That they did not approve what their young Men had done: That they would have reſtor'd the Goods taken, if it had been poſſible; but that having been cut in pieces, they could do no more but offer to reſtore what was not ſpoil'd, and pay for the reſt. They preſented us at the ſame time with ſome Gowns made of Beavers-Skins to appeaſe M. *la Salle*, who having frown'd a little, told them, That as he deſign'd to wrong or affront no body, he would neither ſuffer any wrong or affront to be put upon him; but that ſeeing they did not approve what their Youth had done, and were willing to make ſatisfaction for the ſame, he accepted their Offers, and would be their Friend. The Conditions were fully perform'd, and the Peace happily concluded without farther Hoſtility.

The next Day was ſpent in Dancing, Feaſting, and Speeches; and the Chief Captain having taken a particular notice of the Behaviour of the *Franciſcans*, ſaid, *Theſe Grey Coats we value very much; they go barefoot as well as we: They ſcorn our Beaver-Gowns, and refuſe all other Preſents: They carry no Arms to kill us: They flatter and make much of our Children, and give them Knives and other Toys, without expecting any Reward. Thoſe amongſt us who have been in* Canada, *tell us, That*

Onnontio (so they call the Governour) *loves them very much; and that they have quitted all to come to see us. Therefore be pleas'd, Thou who art Captain of these Men, to leave amongst us one of these Grey Coats, whom we shall bring to our Village, when we have kill'd wild Bulls, and make much of him. Thou art likewise Master of these Warriours, and therefore remain amongst us, instead of going among the* Illinois, *who have resolv'd to murther thee and all thy Soldiers: And how canst thou resist so great a Nation?*

The Captain of the Savages told us, that the *Illinois* had burnt alive an *Iroquese*, who confess'd that the War the *Iroquese* made against them, had been fomented by the Inhabitants of *Canada*, who hated them. He told us also many other things, which frighted our Men, and made M. *la Salle* very melancholly; for all the Savages we had already met, had told us almost the same thing. However, knowing how great was the Malice of our Enemies, and therefore suspecting that these things might have been suggested to the Savages, in order to oblige us to give over our Enterprize; or else that it was a Contrivance of the Neighbours of the *Illinois*, who were afraid that they should grow too powerful, if we taught them the use of Fire-Arms, we resolv'd to go on with our Voyage, taking in the mean time all necessary Precautions for our Security. We told the *Outtouagami's*, That we were much oblig'd to them for their kind Offers and Advice; but that we were not afraid of the *Illinois*; for the *Spirits* know how to gain the Friendship of any Nation, by Reason or by Force. 'Tis to be observ'd, that the Savages being not able to conceive how the *Europeans* can have more Wit than they, and admiring some Toys and other Things we bring from *Europe*, own that they are but Men, but that we are *Spirits*, and therefore call us so.

The next Day, *November* 1. we embark'd on the Lake of the *Illinois*, and came to the Mouth of the River of the *Miami's*, which runs from the South, and falls into the Lake. We had appointed that Place for our Rendezvous, and expected to meet there the twenty Men we had left at *Miſſilimakinak*; who being order'd to come along the other Coaſt of the Lake, had a much ſhorter cut than we, and beſides their Canou's were not ſo much loaded as ours. However, we found no body there, nor any Mark whereby it could appear that they had been in that Place. We reſolv'd to tell M. *la Salle*, that it was not fit to tarry any longer for them, nor expoſe our ſelves to the Hardſhip of the Winter; and that it would be then very difficult to meet with the *Illinois*, becauſe they divided themſelves into Tribes or Families, to ſubſiſt more conveniently; that if we were forc'd to remain there during the Winter, and that the Game ſhould come to fail us, all his Men would certainly periſh with Hunger; whereas we might expect to find ſome *Indian* Corn amongſt the *Illinois*, who would rather ſupply with Proviſions fourteen Men than two and thirty. We told him likewiſe, that it would be in a manner impoſſible to continue our Voyage till the Winter was over, if he tarry'd any longer, becauſe the Rivers would be frozen all over, and therefore we could not make uſe of our Canou's. Notwithſtanding theſe Reaſons, M. *la Salle* told us, that it was neceſſary to expect the reſt of his Men, becauſe we ſhould be then in a Condition to diſcover our ſelves to the *Illinois*, and make an Alliance with them; whereas we ſhould be expos'd to their Mercy and Scorn, if we offer'd to enter their Country with ſo few Men; but that in the mean time he would endeavour to meet with ſome of that Nation, and gain them by Preſents to learn their Language; concluding, that although all his Men ſhould run away, he would remain alone

with our Savage, and find means to maintain the Three Missionaries, meaning I and my two Brethren.

Having therefore call'd his Men together, he told them, That he was resolv'd to expect the rest of their Companions; and propos'd to build a Fort in that Place for securing our Ship; for we did not know then that it had perish'd; as also to secure our Goods and our selves too, in case of any Disgrace. Our Men seem'd very much dissatisfied; but he us'd so many Reasons, that they told him at last, they would entirely follow his Direction.

CHAP. XXVII.

An Account of the Building of a Fort and a House near the River of Miamis.

JUst at the Mouth of the River, there was was an Eminence, with a kind of a Platform naturally fortify'd: It was pretty high and steep, of a Triangular Form, defended on two sides by the River, and on the other by a deep Ditch, which the Fall of Waters had made. We fell'd the Trees that were on the top of that Hill, and having clear'd the same from Bushes for about two Musket-shot, we began to build a Redoubt of forty Foot long, and eighty broad, with great square pieces of Timber laid one upon the other; and prepar'd a great Number of Stakes of about twenty five Foot long, to drive into the Ground, to make our Fort the more unaccessible on the River side. We imploy'd the whole Month of *November* about that Work, which was very hard, though we had no other Food but the Bears-flesh our Savage kill'd. Those Beasts are very common in that place, because of the great quantity of Grapes they find there; but their Flesh being

being too fat and luſhious, our Men began to be weary of it, and deſir'd leave to go a hunting, to kill ſome wild Goats. M. *la Salle* deny'd them that Liberty, which caus'd ſome Murmurs amongſt them; and it was but unwillingly that they continu'd their Work. This together with the approach of the Winter, and the apprehenſion M. *la Salle* had that his Ship was loſt, made him very melancholy, though he conceal'd it as much as he could. We had made a Cabin, wherein we perform'd Divine Service every *Sunday*, and Father *Gabriel* and I, who preach'd alternatively, took care to take ſuch Texts as were ſuitable to our preſent Circumſtances, and fit to inſpire us with Courage, Concord, and brotherly Love. Our Exhortations produc'd a very good Effect, and hindred our Men from deſerting, as they deſign'd.

We ſounded in the mean time, the Mouth of the River, and having found a Sand on which our Ship might ſtrike, we fix'd two great poſts therein, to which we faſtned Bear-Skins as ſo many Buoys to direct the Courſe of our Ship through the Channel ſhe ought to paſs; and for a greater Precaution, two Men were ſent back to *Miſſilimakinak*, to wait there till the return of our Ship, and ſerve as Pilots.

The 20th of *November* M. *Tonti* arriv'd with two Canou's laden with Stags and Deers, which was a welcom Refreſhment to our Men, but he did not bring above half of our Men with him, the reſt being left on the other ſide of the Lake, within three Days Journey from our Fort. M. *la Salle* was very angry with him upon that Account, being afraid that they would run away.

They told us that our Ship had not put into the Bay of *Miſſilimakinak*, as they were order'd, and that they had heard nothing of her ſince we ſail'd, notwithſtanding they had enquir'd as much as they could, from the Savages inhabiting the Coaſt of the Lake. This confirm'd the Suſpicion, or rather the

Belief we had that she was cast away: However, M. *la Salle* continu'd the Building of his Fort, which was at last perfected, and call'd *Fort Miamis.*

The Winter drawing so nigh, and M. *la Salle* being afraid that the Ice would stop his Voyage, sent back M. *Tonti* to fetch the Men he had left, and command them to come to him immediately; but meeting with a violent Storm, their Canou was driven against the Coast, and broke in pieces, whereby they lost their Guns and Equipage, and were oblig'd to return over-land. Few Days after, all our Men arriv'd except two, who deserted; so that we prepar'd our selves to continue our Voyage, the Rains that fell about that time having melted the Ice, and made the Rivers navigable.

CHAP. XXVIII.

A Continuation of our Voyage from Fort Miamis *to the River of the* Illinois.

WE embark'd on the *Third* of *December*, being Three and thirty Men in Eight Canou's, and having left the Lake of the *Illinois*, went up the River *Miamis*, which we had sounded before. We made about five and twenty Leagues to the South-West, but cou'd not discover the Place where we were to land, and carry our Canou's and Equipage into the River of the *Illinois*, which falls into that of *Meschasipi*; that is, in the Language of the *Illinois*, the *Great River*. We had already passed the place of the *Portage*, but not knowing whereabouts we were, we thought fit to stay there, to expect M. *la Salle*, who was landed to view the Country: We staid a great while, and seeing he did not come, I went very far into the Woods with two of our Men, who fir'd their Guns to give him notice of the Place where

where we were; and in the mean time two others went up the River in their Canou, in order to find him out; but all our Endeavours were in vain, ſo that we return'd towards Evening.

The next Day I went up the River my ſelf, but hearing nothing of him, I came back, and found our Men very much perplex'd, fearing he was loſt; but about four a-clock in the Afternoon he return'd to us, having his Face and Hands as black as Pitch. He brought along with him two Beaſts as big as Musk'd Rats, whoſe Skins was very fine, and like Ermins. He had kill'd them with a Stick, as they hung by their Tails to the Boughs of Trees.

He told us, that the Marſhes he had met in his way, had oblig'd him to fetch a great Compaſs; and that being much annoy'd by the Snow which fell very thick, it was paſt Midnight before he could arrive upon the Banks of the River; where he fir'd his Gun twice, and that hearing no anſwer, he concluded we were gone up higher, and had therefore march'd that way. He added, that after three Hours March, he ſaw a Fire upon a little Hill, whither he went directly, and hail'd us ſeveral Times, but hearing no Anſwer, he approach'd and found no Body near the Fire, but only ſome dry Herbs, upon which a Man was a little while afore laid, as he conjectur'd, becauſe they were ſtill warm. He ſuppos'd that it was a Savage, who lay thereabouts in an Ambuſcade, and therefore call'd to him in two or three Languages; but no Body anſwering, he cry'd as loud as he could, that to ſhew he was not afraid of him, he was going to lie in his room. However, for fear of any Surprize, he cut ſeveral Boughs and Buſhes, to embaraſs the way, and ſat down by the Fire, which had made his Hands and Face black, as I have obſerv'd. Having thus warm'd and reſted himſelf, he lay down upon the dry Herbs the Savage had gather'd under a Tree, and ſlept very well,

well, notwithstanding the Frost and Snow. Father *Gabriel* and I desir'd him to remain with his Men, and not expose himself for the future, because the Success of our Enterprize depended only upon him; and he promis'd us to follow our Advice.

Our Savage, who remain'd behind for hunting, finding none of us at the Place of the *Portage*, came up higher on the River, and told us, we had mist it; therefore he was sent back with all our Canou's, except one which I kept; for M. *la Salle* was so weary, that he was oblig'd to lie there that Night. I made a little Cabin with Mats of Marish Rushes, wherein we lay together, but were in great danger of being burnt, for it took fire by an unhappy Accident, while we were fast asleep. The next Morning we joyn'd our Men at the Place of *Portage*, where Father *Gabriel* had made the Day before several Crosses upon the Trees, that we might not miss it another time. We found there a great quantity of Horns and Bones of wild Bulls, as also some Canou's the Savages had made with the Skins of Beasts, to cross the River with their Provisions. This *Portage* lies at the farther End of a large Champion piece of Ground; and at the other End, to the West, lies a Village of the Savages *Miami's*, *Mascouteins*, and *Oiatinon*, who live together. The River of the *Illinois* has its Source near that Village, and springs out of some marshy Lands, which are as so many Quagmires, that one can scarcely walk over them. The Head of the River is only a League and half from that of *Miamis*, and so our *Portage* was not long. We mark'd the way from Place to Place with some Trees for the convenience of those we expected after us; and left at the *Portage*, as well as Fort *Miamis*, Letters hanging down from the Trees, containing M. *la Salle's* Instructions to our Pilot, and the other five and twenty Men, who were to come with him

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

An Account of our Embarkment at the Head of the River of the Illinois.

THis River is navigable within a hundred Paces from its Source; I mean for Canou's of Bark of Trees, and not for others; but it increaſes ſo much a little way from thence, that it is as deep and broad as the *Meuſe* and the *Sambre* joyn'd together. It runs through vaſt Marſhes, and though it be rappid enough, it makes ſo many Turnings and Windings, that after a whole Day's Journey, we found we were hardly two Leagues from the Place we left in the Morning. That Country is nothing but Marſhes full of Alder-Trees and Ruſhes; and we could have hardly found for forty Leagues together, any Place to plant our Cabins, had it not been for the Froſt, which made the Earth more firm and ſolid.

Having paſt through great Marſhes, we found a vaſt Plain, on which nothing grows but only ſome Herbs, which were dry at that time, and burnt, becauſe the *Miami's* ſet them on fire every Year, in their hunting wild Bulls, as I ſhall mention anon. We found no manner of Game, which was a great Diſappointment to us, our Proviſions beginning to fail. Our Men travell'd about ſixty Miles without killing any thing elſe but a lean Stag, a ſmall wild Goat, ſome few Swans, and two Buſtards, which was no ſufficient Maintenance for two and thirty Men, Moſt of them were ſo weary of this laborious Life, that they would have run away, if poſſible, and gone to the Savages, who were not very far from us, as we judg'd by the great Fires we ſaw in the Plain. There muſt be an innumerable quantity

quantity of wild Bulls in that Country, since the Earth is cover'd with their Horns. The *Miami's* hunt them towards the latter end of *Autumn*.

We continu'd our Course upon this River very near the whole Month of *December*; but toward the latter end of the said Month, 1679. we arriv'd at the Village of the *Illinois*, which lies near one hundred and thirty Leagues from Fort *Miamis*, on the Lake of the *Illinois*. We suffer'd very much in this Passage; for the Savages having set the Herbs of the Plain on fire, the wild Bulls were fled away, and so we could kill but one, and some Turkey-Cocks. God's Providence supported us all the while; and when we thought that the Extremities we were reduc'd to, were past all hopes of Remedy, we found a prodigious big wild Bull, lying fast in the Mud of the River. We kill'd him and had much ado to get him out of the Mud. This was a great Refreshment to our Men, and reviv'd their Courage; for being so timely and unexpectly reliev'd, they concluded that God approv'd our Design.

CHAP. XXX.

A Description of the Hunting of the wild Bulls and Cows, by the Savages; Of the bigness of those Beasts; and of the Advantages and Improvements that may be made of the Plain where they Pasture; and of the Woods thereabouts.

WHen the Savages discover a great Number of those Beasts together, they likewise assemble their whole Tribe to encompass the Bulls, and then set on fire the dry Herbs about them, except in some places, which they leave free; and therein lay themselves in Ambuscade. The Bulls seeing the Flame round about them, run away through those Passages



Paſſages where they ſee no Fire; and there fall into the Hands of the Savages, who by theſe Means will kill ſometimes above ſixſcore in a day. They divide theſe Beaſts according to the number of each Family; and ſend their Wives to flay them, and bring the Fleſh to their Cabins. Theſe Women are ſo luſty and ſtrong, that they carry on their Back two or three hundred weight, beſides their Children; and notwithſtanding that Burthen, they run as ſwiftly as any of our Soldiers with their Arms.

Thoſe Bulls have a very fine Coat, more like Wooll than Hair, and their Cows have it longer than the Males; their Horns are almoſt black, and much thicker, though ſomewhat ſhorter than thoſe of *Europe*: Their Head is of a prodigious Bigneſs, as well as their Neck very thick, but at the ſame time exceeding ſhort: They have a kind of Bump between the two Shoulders: Their Legs are big and ſhort, cover'd with long Wooll; and they have between the two Horns an ugly Buſh of Hair, which falls upon their Eyes, and makes them look horrid.

The Fleſh of theſe Beaſts is very reliſhing, and full of Juice, eſpecially in *Autumn*; for having grazed all the Summer long in thoſe vaſt Meadows, where the Herbs are as high as they, they are then very fat. There is alſo amongſt them abundance of Stags, Deers, and wild Goats; and that nothing might be wanting in that Country, for the Convenience of thoſe Creatures, there are Foreſts at certain diſtances, where they retire to reſt, and ſhelter themſelves againſt the violence of the Sun.

They change their Country according to the Seaſons of the Year; for upon the approach of the Winter, they leave the North to go to the Southern Parts. They follow one another, ſo that you may ſee a Drove of them for above a League together, and ſtop all at the ſame place; and the Ground where they uſe to lie is cover'd with wild Purſlain; which makes me

me believe, that the Cows Dung is very fit to produce that Herb. Their Ways are as beaten as our great Roads, and no Herb grows therein. They swim over the Rivers they meet in their Way, to go and graze in other Meadows. But the Care of the Cows for their Young Ones, cannot be too much admir'd; for there being in those Meadows a great quantity of Wolves, who might surprize them, they go to calve in the Islands of the Rivers, from whence they don't stir till the young Calves are able to follow them; for then they can protect them against any Beast whatsoever.

These Bulls being very convenient for the Subsistence of the Savages, they take care not to scare them from their Country; and they pursue only those whom they have wounded with their Arrows: But these Creatures multiply in such a manner, that notwithstanding the great Numbers they kill every Year, they are as numerous as ever.

The Women spin the Wooll of these Bulls, and make Sacks thereof to carry their Flesh in, which they dry in the Sun, or broil upon Gridirons. They have no Salt, and yet they prepare their Flesh so well, that it keeps above four Months without breeding any Corruption; and it looks then so fresh, that one wou'd think it was newly kill'd. They commonly boil it, and drink the Broth of it instead of Water. This is the ordinary Drink of all the Savages of *America*, who have no Commerce with the *Europeans*. We follow'd their Example in this particular; and it must be confess'd, that that Broath is very wholsome.

The Skin of one of those Bulls usually weighs about sixscore Pound; but the Savages make use only of the thinnest part, as that of the Belly, which they dress with the Brains of all sorts of Beasts, and thereby make it as soft as our *Shamoi's* Skins. They paint them with several Colours, and adorn with pieces

of

of Porcupine-Skins, red and white, the Gowns they make thereof, to appear ſplendidly at Feaſts, and on other ſolemn Occaſions. They make other Gowns againſt cold Weather, wherewith they cover themſelves during the Winter; but theſe plain Gowns, cover'd with curl'd Wooll, are, in my Opinion, the fineſt as well as the beſt.

When they kill any Cows, their young Calves follow them, and lick their Hands. They bring them to their Children, who eat them, after having for ſome time play'd with them. They keep the Hoofs of thoſe little Creatures, and when they are very dry, they tie them to ſome Wand, and move them according to the various Poſtures of thoſe who ſing and dance. This is the moſt ridiculous Muſical Inſtrument that I ever met with.

Theſe young Calves might be eaſily tam'd, and made uſe of to plow the Land, which would be very advantageous to the Savages. Theſe Bulls find in all Seaſons Forrage to ſubſiſt by; for if they are ſurpriz'd in the Northern Countries by the Snow, before they can reach the Southern Parts, they have the dexterity to remove the Snow, and eat the Graſs under it. They bellow like our *European* Bulls, but not ſo frequently.

Though theſe Bulls are taller and bigger than thoſe of *Europe*, they are however ſo ſwift, that no Savage can overtake them: They are ſo timorous, that they run away from any Man, except when they are wounded; for then they are dangerous, and often kill the Savage who purſues them. 'Tis a diverting Proſpect to ſee near the Banks of the Rivers, ſeveral Droves of thoſe Bulls of about four or five hundred together, grazing in thoſe green Meadows.

There are ſeveral other Beaſts in that Country, as I obſerv'd in my Account of *Louiſiana*, as Stags, wild Goats, Beavers, and Otters; there are alſo Buſtards, which have an excellent Taſte; Swans, Tortoiſes, Turkey-

Turkey-Cocks, Parrots, and Partridges. There are also an incredible quantity of Pelicans, whose Bills are of a prodigeous Size; and a great many other sorts of Birds, and other Beasts.

The Rivers are plentifully stock'd with Fish, and the Soil is very fertile. The Forests afford all manner of Timber fit for Building, and especially Oak; which is there much better than in *Canada*, and would be excellent for building Ships. That Timber might be squar'd, saw'd, and ready prepar'd upon the Spot, and brought over into *Europe*; which would be very convenient, and give time to the Trees of our Forests to grow, whereas they are in a manner exhausted.

There are in those Forests abundance of Trees bearing good Fruit, and of wild Vines, which produce Bunches of Grapes a foot and a half long, and of which when ripe may be made very good Wine. One may see there also large Countries cover'd with good Hemp, growing naturally six or seven foot in height. In short, by the Experiments I made among the *Islati*, and the *Illinois*, I am perswaded that the Soil of that Country would produce all manner of Corn, Fruits, *&c.* even more plentifully than in any part of *Europe*, seeing there are two Crops every Year.

The Air is very temperate, clear, and open, and the Country water'd with several Lakes, Brooks, and Rivers, which are for the most part navigable. The Gnats and other little Flies that are so troublesome in *Canada*, and some other dangerous Beasts, are unknown in this Country; which in two Years time might supply its Inhabitants, if cultivated, with all things necessary for Life, without wanting any thing from *Europe*; and the Islands of *America*, with Wine, Bread, and Flesh. The *Bucaniers* might kill in that Country a greater number of Bulls than in all the Islands they resort to. There are Mines of Coal,

Coal, Slate, and Iron; and ſeveral Pieces of fine red Copper, which I have found now and then upon the Surface of the Earth, makes me believe that there are Mines of it; and doubtleſs of other Metals and Minerals, which may be diſcover'd one time or another. They have already found Allom in the Country of the *Iroqueſe*.

CHAP. XXXI.

An Account of our Arrival to the Country of the Illinois, *one of the moſt numerous Nations of the Savages of* America.

THis Word *Illinois* comes, as it has been already obſerv'd, from *Illini*, which in the Language of that Nation ſignifies *A perfect and accompliſh'd Man.* The Villages of the *Illinois* are ſituated in a Marſhy Plain, about the Fortieth Degree of Latitude, on the Right ſide of the River, which is as broad as the *Meuſe*. Their greateſt Village may have in it Four or five hundred Cabins, every Cabin five or ſix Fires, and each Fire one or two Families, who live together in great Concord. Their Cabins are cover'd with Mats of flat Ruſhes, ſo cloſely ſew'd together, that no Wind, Rain, or Snow can go thro' it. The Union that reigns amongſt that Barbarous People, ought to cover with Shame the Chriſtians; amongſt whom we can ſee no Trace of that brotherly Love, which united the Primitive Profeſſors of Chriſtianity.

When the Savages have gather'd in their *Indian* Corn, they dig ſome Holes in the Ground, where they keep it for Summer-time, becauſe Meat does not keep in hot Weather; whereas they have very little occaſion for it in Winter; and 'tis then their Cuſtom to leave their Villages, and with their whole Families to go a hunting wild Bulls, Beavers, *&c.* carrying with

with them but a small quantity of their Corn, which however they value so much, that the most sensible Wrong one can do them, in their Opinion, is to take some of their Corn in their absence. We found no Body in the Village, as we had foreseen; for the *Illinois* had divided themselves, according to their Custom, and were gone a hunting. Their Absence caus'd a great Perplexity amongst us; for we wanted Provisions, and yet durst not meddle with the *Indian* Corn the Savages had laid under Ground, for their Subsistence, and to sow their Lands with. However, our Necessity being very great, and it being impossible to continue our Voyage without any Provisions, especially seeing the Bulls and other Beasts had been driven from the Banks of the River, by means of Fire, as I have related in my former Chapter, M. *la Salle* resolv'd to take about forty Bushels of Corn, in hopes to appease the Savages with some Presents.

We embark'd again with these fresh Provisions, and continu'd to fall down the River, which runs directly to the South. Four Days after, being the First of *January*, 1680. we said Mass; and having wish'd a happy New-year to M. *la Salle*, and to all others, I thought fit to make a pathetical Exhortation to our Grumblers, to encourage them to go on chearfully, and inspire them with Union and Concord. Father *Gabriel*, *Zenobe*, and I, embrac'd them afterwards; and they promis'd us to continue firm in their Duty. The same Day we went thro' a Lake form'd by the River, about seven Leagues long, and one broad. The Savages call that Place *Pimiteoui*; that is, in their Tongue, *A Place where there is abundance of fat Beasts.* When the River of the *Illinois* freezes, which is but seldom, it freezes only to this Lake, and never from thence to the *Meschasipi*, into which this River falls. M. *la Salle* observ'd here the Elevation of the Pole, and found that this Lake lies

in

in the Latitude of thirty three Degrees and forty five Minutes.

We had been inform'd that the *Illinois* were our Enemies; and therefore M. *la Salle* had reſolv'd to uſe all manner of Precaution when we ſhould meet with them; but we found our ſelves on a ſudden in the middle of their Camp, which took up both ſides of the River. M. *la Salle* order'd immediately his Men to make their Arms ready, and brought his Canou's into a Line, placing himſelf to the Right, and M. *Tonti* to the Left; ſo that we took almoſt the whole breadth of the River. The *Illinois*, who had not yet diſcover'd our Fleet, were very much ſurpriz'd to ſee us coming ſo ſwiftly upon them; for the Stream was extraordinary rapid in that Place: Some run to their Arms; but moſt took their Flight, with horrid Cries and Howlings.

The Current brought us in the mean time to their Camp; and M. *la Salle* went the very firſt a-ſhoar, follow'd by his Men; which encreas'd the Conſternation of the Savages, whom we might have eaſily defeated; but as it was not our Deſign, we made a Halt to give them time to recover themſelves, and ſee that we were no Enemies. M. *la Salle* might have prevented their Confuſion, by ſhewing his *Calumet*, or Pipe of Peace; but he was afraid the Savages wou'd impute it to our Weakneſs.

The *Illinois* being exceedingly terrify'd, tho' they were ſeveral thouſand Men, tender'd us the *Calumet* of Peace; and then we offer'd them ours; which being accepted on both ſides, an extraordinary Joy ſucceeded the terrible Fears the had been under upon our landing. They ſent immediately to fetch back thoſe who fled away; and Father *Zenobe* and I went to their Cabins. We took their Children by the Hand, and expreſs'd our Love for them with all the Signs we cou'd: We did the like to the Old Men, having Compaſſion of thoſe poor Creatures, who

are so miserable as to be ignorant of their Creator and Redeemer.

Most of the Savages, who had run away upon our landing, understanding that we were Friends, return'd; but some others had been so terrifi'd, that they did not come back till three or four Days after, that they were told that we had smoak'd in their *Calumet* of Peace. In the mean time we had discours'd the Chief of the *Illinois* by our Interpreter, and told them, that we were Inhabitants of *Canada*, and their Friends; that we were come to teach them the Knowledge of the Captain of Heaven and Earth, and the Use of Fire-arms, which were unknown to them; with several other things relating to their Advantage. We were forc'd to make use of these metaphorical Expressions, to give them some *Idea* of the Supreme DEITY. They heard our Discourses with great attention, and afterwards gave a great Shout for Joy, repeating these Words: *Tepatoui-Nika*; That is, *Well, my Brother, my Friend; thou hast done very well.* These Savages have more Humanity than all the others of the Northern *America*; and understanding the Subject of our Errand, express'd great Gratitude thereupon. They rubb'd our Legs and Feet near the Fire, with Oil of Bears and Wild Bulls Fat, which, after much Travel, is an incomparable Refreshment; and presented us some Flesh to eat, putting the three first Morsels into our Mouth with great Ceremonies. This is a great piece of Civility amongst them.

M. *la Salle* presented them with some Tobacco from *Martinico*, and some Axes; and told them, that he had desir'd them to meet to treat about some weighty Matters; but that there was one in particular, which he would discourse them upon before any other. He added, that he knew how necessary their Corn was to them; but that being reduc'd to an unspeakable Necessity when he came to their Village,

lage, and seeing no probability to subsist, he had been forc'd to take some Corn from their Habitations without their leave: That he would give 'em Axes, and other things, in lieu of it, if they could spare it; that if they could not, they were free to take it again; concluding, That if they were not able to supply us with Provisions, he design'd to continue his Voyage, and go to their Neighbours, who would heartily give him what was necessary for his Subsistence; but however, to shew them his Kindness, he would leave a Smith among them, to mend their Axes and other Tools we should supply them with. The Savages having consider'd our Proposals, granted all our Demands, and made Alliance with us.

We were oblig'd to use many Precautions to make our Alliance lasting and solid, because our Enemies did their utmost to prevent it. The very same Day we came to the Camp of the *Illinois*, one of the Chief Captains of the *Mascoutens*, whose Name was *Monso*, arriv'd also with some *Miami's*, and other young Men, who brought with them some Axes, Knives, Kettles, and other Goods. Our Enemies had chosen him for that Embassie, knowing that the *Illinois* would rather believe him than the *Miami's*, because they had never been in War with the *Mascoutens*. This Savage arriv'd pretty late, and caball'd all the Night long against us: He told them, That M. *la Salle* was a great Friend of the *Iroquese*, who were to follow him speedily, with some of the *Europeans* from *Canada*, to invade them, and destroy their Nation; and that he was sent by some of the *Europeans* themselves, who could not approve that Treachery of their Country-men, to give them notice thereof, that they might not be surpriz'd. He enforc'd his Arguments, by presenting them with all the Goods he had brought along with him; and thinking he had gain'd his Point, went back the same Night, fearing, with much Reason, that M. *la Salle* would re-

sent that Master-piece of Villany, and punish him for it. The *Illinois* were assembled in Council all the Night, (for they never treat of any secret Affairs during the Day) and did not know what Measures to take; for tho' they did not believe all the Stories the *Mascouten* had made unto them, yet the next Day they appear'd very indifferent, and mistrustful of us. As they seem'd to contrive something against us, we began to be uneasie; but M. *la Salle*, who suspected that their sudden Alteration towards us was the Effect of a false Report, made such Presents to one of their Chiefs, that he told him all the Particulars of the Embassie and Negotiation of *Monso*; and thereby enabled him to remove the Jealousie of the *Illinois*, and confound the wicked Designs of our Enemies.

He manag'd that Point with such Dexterity, that he did not only regain the Friendship of that Nation, but likewise undeceiv'd the *Mascouten* and *Miami's*; and was Mediator between the latter and the *Illinois*, who by his means made an Alliance, which lasted all the while we remain'd in those Countries.

CHAP. XXXII.

An Account of what hapned to us while we remain'd among the Illinois, *till the Building of a New Fort.*

SOme Days after, *Nikanape*, Brother to *Chessagou-asse*, the most considerable Chief of the *Illinois*, who was then absent, invited us to a great Feast; and before we sate down to eat, made a long Speech, very different from what the other Captains had told us upon our arrival. He said that he had invited us not so much to give us a Treat, as to endeavour to dissuade us from the Resolution we had taken, to go down to the Sea by the great River *Meschasipi*. He added, That several had perish'd, having ventur'd upon

upon the ſame Enterprize, the Banks of that River being inhabited by barbarous and bloody Nations, whom we ſhould be unable to reſiſt, notwithſtanding our Valour and the Goodneſs of our Arms; that that River was full of dangerous Monſters, as Crocodiles, Tritons, (meaning a Sea-monſter) and Serpents; that ſuppoſing the Barque we deſign'd to build was big enough to protect us againſt the Dangers he had mention'd, yet it would avail us nothing againſt another which was inevitable: *For*, ſaid he, *the River* Meſchaſipi *is ſo full of Rocks and Falls towards its Mouth, that the Rapidity of the Current cannot be maſter'd, which will carry your Barque into a horrid Whirlpool, that ſwallows up every thing that comes near it; and even the River it ſelf, which appears no more, loſing it ſelf in that hideous and bottomleſs Gulf.*

He added ſo many other Circumſtances, and appear'd ſo ſerious, and ſo much concern'd for us, that two of our Men, who underſtood their Language, but not their Politicks, were moved at it, and their Fear appear'd in their Faces. We obſerv'd it, but could not help it; for it would be an unpardonable Affront to interrupt a Savage; and beſides, we had perhaps encreas'd the Alarms of our Men. When *Nikanape* had made an end of his Diſcourſe, we anſwer'd him in ſo calm a manner, that he cou'd not fancy we were ſurpris'd at his Objections againſt our Voyage.

Our Interpreter told him, by order of M. *la Salle*, that we were much oblig'd to him for the Advices he gave us; but that the Difficulties and Dangers he had mention'd, would make our Enterprize ſtill more glorious; that we fear'd the Maſter of the Life of all Men, who rul'd the Sea, and all the World; and therefore wou'd think it a Happineſs to lay down our Lives to make his Name known to all his Creatures. We added, that we believ'd that moſt of the Dangers he had mention'd were not in being; but that

the Friendship he had for us, had put him upon that Invention, to oblige us to remain with them. We thought fit, however, to let him know, that we perceiv'd our Enemies had fomented some Jealousies in their Mind, and that they seem'd to mistrust our Designs; but as we were sincere in our Dealings, we desir'd them to let us know freely, and without any Disguise, the Grounds of their Suspicions, that we might satisfie them, and clear our selves; concluding, that seeing our Demand was so just and equitable, we expected they would grant it, or else that we should have reason to think that the Joy they had express'd upon our Arrival, and the Friendship they had since shew'd to us, was nothing but a Deceit and Dissimulation. *Nikanape* was not able to answer us, and therefore chang'd his Discourse, desiring us to eat.

The Dinner being over, our Interpreter reassum'd his Discourse, and told the Company, that we were not surpriz'd at the Envy their Neighbours express'd about our Arrival into their Country, because they knew too well the Advantages of Commerce, and therefore would engross it to themselves, and obstruct by all means our good Correspondence; but that we wonder'd that they wou'd give Ear to the Suggestions of our common Enemies, and conceal any thing from us, since we had so sincerely acquainted them with our Designs.

We did not sleep, Brother, said he, directing his Discourse to *Nicanape*, *when* Monso *was caballing amongst you in the Night to our Prejudice, endeavouring to make you believe that we were Spies of the* Iroquese. *The Presents he made to enforce his Lies, are still hidden in this Cabin. But why has he run away immediately after, instead of appearing publickly to justifie his Accusation? Thou art a Witness thy self, that upon our landing we might have kill'd all thy Nephews, and done what our Enemies tell you we design to do, after we have made Alliance with thee, and settled our selves amongst you. But if it were our Design,*

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why ſhould we defer to put it into execution? And who hinders our Warriours, who are here with me, to kill all of you, whilſt your young Men are a hunting? Thou haſt been told, that our Valour is terrible to the Iroqueſe *themſelves; and therefore we need not their Aſſiſtance to wage War with thee, if it were our Deſign.*

But to remove even the leaſt Pretence of Suſpicion and Jealouſie, ſend ſomebody to bring back that malicious Accuſer, and we will ſtay here to confute him in thy Preſence: For how can he know us, ſeeing he never ſaw us in his Life? And how can he be acquainted with the ſecret League we have made with the Iroqueſe, *whom he knows only by Name? Conſider our Equipage; we have nothing but Tools and Goods, which can never be made uſe of, but for the Good of thy Nation, and not for its Deſtruction, as our Enemies would make thee believe.*

This Diſcourſe mov'd them very much; and they ſent after *Monſo* to bring him back; but the Snow which fell that Night ſpoil'd the Tract, and ſo he could not be over-taken. He had remain'd for ſome Days not far from us, to know what would be the ſucceſs of his Embaſſie. However, ſome of our Men lay under ſuch terrible Apprehenſions, that we could never recover their Courage, nor remove their Fears; ſo that ſix of them who had the Guard that Night (amongſt which were two Sawers, the moſt neceſſary of our Workmen for building our Ship) run away, taking with them what they thought neceſſary; but conſidering the Country through which they were to travel, and the Seaſon of the year, we may ſay, that for avoiding an uncertain Peril, they expos'd themſelves to a moſt certain Danger.

M. *la Salle* ſeeing that thoſe ſix Men were gone, and fearing that this Deſertion would make a diſadvantageous Impreſſion upon the Savages, he order'd his Men to tell the *Illinois*, that he had reſolv'd to ſend after them to puniſh them as they deſerv'd; but that the Seaſon being ſo hard, he was loth to expoſe

his Men; and that those Deserters would be severely ly punish'd in *Canada*. In the meam time we exhorted the rest to continue firm in their Duty, assuring them, That if any were afraid of venturing themselves upon the River *Meschasipi*, becaufe of the Dangers *Nikanape* had mention'd, M. *la Salle* would give them leave to return next Spring to *Canada*, and allow them a Canou to make their Voyage; whereas they could not venture to return home at this time of the Year, without exposing themselves to perish with Hunger, Cold, or the Hands of the Savages.

They promis'd Wonders; but M. *la Salle* knowing their Inconstancy, and dissembling the Vexation their want of Courage and Resolution caus'd him, resolv'd to prevent any farther Subornation, and to leave the Camp of the *Illinois*; but left his Men should not consent to it, he call'd them together and told them we were not safe among the *Illinois*, and that perhaps the *Iroquese* would come in a little time to attack them; and that these being not able to resist, they were like to run away, and betake themselves to the Woods, and leave us expos'd to the Mercy of the *Iroquese*, whose Cruelty was sufficiently known to us; therefore he knew no other Remedy but to fortifie a Post, where we might defend our selves both against the *Illinois* and *Iroquese*, as occasion should require. These Reasons, with some other Arguments which I added to the same purpose, proved powerful enough to engage them to approve M. *la Salle*'s Design; and so it was resolv'd to build a Fort in a very advantageous Place on the River, four Day's Journey below the great Village of the *Illinois*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Reflections upon the Temper and Manners of the Illinois, *and the little Diſpoſition they have to embrace Chriſtianity.*

BEfore I ſpeak in particular of the *Illinois*, I think fit to obſerve here, that there is a Nation of the *Miami's*, who inhabit the Banks of a fine River, within fifteen Leagues from the Lake, in the Latitude of 41 Degrees. The *Maskoutens* and *Outtouagami's* live more Northward on the River *Mellioki*, which runs into the Lake in the Latitude of 43 Degrees. To the Weſt of it live the *Kikapous* and *Ainoves*, who have two Villages; and to the Weſt of theſe there is the Village of the *Illinois Caſcaſchia*, ſituated towards the Source of the River *Checagoumenans*. The *Authoutantas* and *Maskoutens-Nadoueſſians* live within one hundred and thirty Leagues of the *Illinois*, in three great Villages, on the Banks of a fine River which diſcharges it ſelf into the great River *Meſchaſipi*. We ſhall have occaſion to talk of theſe and ſeveral other Nations.

Moſt of theſe Savages, and eſpecially the *Illinois*, make their Cabins of flat Ruſhes, which they ſew together, and line them with the ſame; ſo that no Rain can go through it. They are tall, ſtrong, and manage their Bows and Arrows with great dexterity; for they did not know the uſe of Fire-Arms before we came into their Country. They are Lazy, Vagabonds, Timorous, Pettiſh, Thieves, and ſo fond of their Liberty, that they have no great Reſpect for their Chiefs.

Their Villages are open, and not enclos'd with Paliſado's, as in ſome other Places, becauſe they have not Courage enough to defend them, for they fly away

away as soon as they hear their Enemies approach. Besides their Arrows, they use two other Weapons, a kind of a Pike, and a Club of Wood. Their Country is so fertile, that it supplies them with all Necessaries for Life, and especially since we taught them the use of Iron Tools to cultivate it.

Hermaphrodites are very common amongst them, which is so much the more surprizing, because I have not observ'd any such thing amongst the other Nations of the Northern *America*. Poligamy is allow'd amongst them; and they generally marry several Sisters, thinking they agree better than Strangers. They are exceedingly jealous, and cut the Noses of their Wives upon the least suspicion. Notwithstanding they have several Wives, they are so lascivious as to be guilty of Sodomy, and keep Boys whom they cloath with Womens Apparel, because they make of them that abominable Use. These Boys live in their Families amongst Women, without going either to their Wars or Hunting. As to their Religion I observ'd that they are very superstitious; but I cou'd never discover that they had any Worship, nor any Reason for their Superstition. They are great Gamesters, as well as all the other Savages that I have known in *America*.

As there are some stony Places in this Country, where there is a great quantity of Serpents, very troublesome to the *Illinois*, they know several Herbs which are a quicker and surer Remedy against their Venom, than our Treacle or Orvietan. They rub themselves with these Herbs, after which they play with those dangerous Serpents, without receiving any hurt. They take the young ones and put them sometimes into their Mouth. They go stark naked in Summertime, wearing only a kind of Shooes made of the Skins of Bulls; but the Winter being pretty severe in their Country, tho' very short, they wear Gowns made of the Skins of Wild Beasts, or of Bulls, which they

they dreſs and paint moſt curiouſly, as I have already obſerv'd.

The *Illinois*, as moſt of the Savages of *America*, being brutiſh, wild, and ſtupid, and their Manners being ſo oppoſite to the Morals of the Goſpel, their Converſion is to be deſpair'd of, till Time and Commerce with the *Europeans* has remov'd their natural Fierceneſs and Ignorance, and thereby made 'em more apt to be ſenſible of the Charms of Chriſtianity. I have met with ſome who were more teachable; and Father *Zenobe* told me, that he Baptiz'd two or three of them at the point of Death, becauſe they deſir'd it; and ſhew'd ſome good Diſpoſition to induce him to grant that Demand. They will readily ſuffer us to baptize their Children, and would not refuſe it themſelves; but they are incapable of any previous Inſtruction concerning the Truth of the Goſpel, and the Efficacy of the Sacraments. Would I follow the Example of ſome other Miſſionaries, I could have boaſted of many Converſions; for I might have eaſily baptiz'd all thoſe Nations, and then ſay, as I am afraid they do without any ground, That I had converted them.

Father *Zenobe* had met with two Savages, who had promis'd to follow him every where, whom he inſtructed and baptiz'd; but tho' they were more tractable than the reſt, they would not leave their Country; and he underſtood afterwards, that one of them, whoſe Name was *Chaſſagouache*, was dead in the hands of the *Jugglers*, and conſequently in the Superſtitions of his Country-Men; ſo that his Baptiſm ſerv'd only to make him *duplo Filius Gehennæ*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIV.

An Account of the Building of a New Fort on the River of the Illinois, *named by the Savages* Checagou, *and by us Fort* Crevecœur; *as also a Barque to go down the River* Meschasipi.

I Must observe here, that the hardest Winter lasts not above two Months in this charming Country; so that on the 15th of *January* there came a sudden Thaw, which made the Rivers navigable, and the Weather so mild as it is with us in the middle of the Spring. M. *la Salle* improving this fair Season, desir'd me to go down the River with him to choose a Place fit to build our Fort. After having view'd the Country we pitch'd upon an Eminence on the Bank of the River, defended on that side by the River, and on two others by two Ditches the Rains had made very deep by succession of Time; so that it was accessible only by one way; therefore we cast a Line to joyn those two natural Ditches, and made the Eminence steep on every side, supporting the Earth with great pieces of Timber. We made a hasty Lodgment thereupon, to be ready to defend us in case the Savages would obstruct the building of our Fort; but no body offering to disturb us, we went on diligently with our work. Fathers *Gabriel*, *Zenobe*, and I, made in the mean time a Cabin of Planks, wherein our Workmen came to Prayers every Morning and Evening; but having no Wine, we could not say Mass. The Fort being half finish'd, M. *la Salle* lodg'd himself in the middle with M. *Tonti*; and every body took his Post. We plac'd our Forge along the Courtin on the side of the Wood, and laid in a great quantity of Coals for that use.

In the mean time our thoughts were always bent towards

towards our Diſcovery, and M. *la Salle* and I had frequent Conferences about it: But our greateſt difficulty was to build a Barque; for our Sawers being gone, we did not know what to do. However, as the Timber was cheap enough, we told our Men, that if any of them would undertake to ſaw Boards for Building the ſaid Barque, we might ſurmount all other Difficulties. Two Men undertook it; and though they had never try'd it before, they ſucceeded very well, ſo that we began to build a Barque, the Keel whereof was forty two Foot long. Our Men went on ſo briskly with the Work, that on the firſt of *March* our Barque was half built, and all the Timber ready prepar'd for the finiſhing of it. Our Fort was alſo very near finiſh'd; and we nam'd it the Fort of *Crevecœur*, becauſe the deſertion of our Men, and the other Difficulties we labour'd under, had almoſt broke our Hearts.

Though the Winter is not harder nor longer in the Country of the *Illinois*, than in *Provence*, the Snow remain'd upon the Earth, in the Year 1680, for twenty days together, which had not been ſeen in the Memory of Man. This made the Savages mightily concern'd, and brought upon us a World of Inconveniencies, beſides the many others we ſuffer'd. In the mean time we perfected our Fort; and our Barque was in ſuch a forwardneſs, that we might have expected to be in a condition to ſail in a very ſhort time, had we been provided with all other Neceſſaries; but hearing nothing of our Ship, and therefore wanting the Rigging and other Tackle for our Barque, we found our ſelves in great perplexity, and did not know what to do in this ſad Juncture, being above five hundred Leagues from Fort *Frontenac*, whither it was almoſt impoſſible to return at that time, becauſe the Snow made the travelling very dangerous by Land, and the Ice made it impracticable to our Canou's.

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M. *la Salle* did not doubt then but his belov'd *Griffin* was lost; but neither this nor the other Difficulties dejected him; his great Courage buoy'd him up, and he resolv'd to return to Fort *Frontenac* by Land, notwithstanding the Snow, and the unspeakable Dangers attending so great a Voyage. We had a long Conference about it in private, wherein having examin'd all things, it was resolv'd, that he should return to Fort *Frontenac* with three Men, to bring along with him the necessary things to proceed on our Discovery, while I with two Men should go in a Canou to the River *Meschasipi*, and endeavour to get the Friendship of those Nations inhabiting the Banks of that River. Our Resolution was certainly very great and bold; but there was this essential difference, that the Inhabitants of the Countries through which M. *la Salle* was to travel, knew the *Europeans*; whereas those Savages, whom I design'd to visit, had never heard of us in their Life; and had been represented by the *Illinois*, as the most barbarous Nations in the World. However, M. *la Salle* and I had Courage enough to undertake our difficult Task; but we had much ado to perswade five of our Men to follow us, or to engage to expect our Return at Fort *Crevecœur*.

CHAP. XXXV.

Containing an Account of what was transacted at Fort Crevecœur *before M.* la Salle's *return to Fort* Frontenac; *and the Instructions we receiv'd from a Savage concerning the River* Meschasipi.

BEfore M. *la Salle* and I parted, we found means to undeceive our Men, and remov'd the groundless Fears they had conceiv'd from what the *Illinois*, through the Suggestions of *Monso*, had told us concerning

cerning the Dangers, or rather the Impoſſibility of Sailing upon the River *Meſchaſipi*. Some Savages inhabiting beyond that River, came to the Camp of the *Illinois*, and gave us an Account of it, very different from what *Nikanape* had told us; ſome other Savages own'd that it was navigable, and not interrupted by Rocks and Falls, as the *Illinois* would make us believe; and one of the *Illinois* themſelves, being gain'd by ſome ſmall Preſents, told us in great ſecreſie, that the Account their Chief had given us, was a downright Forgery, contriv'd on purpoſe to oblige us to give over our Enterprize. This reviv'd ſomewhat our Men; but yet they were ſtill wavering and irreſolute; and therefore M. *la Salle* ſaid, that he would fully convince them, that the *Illinois* had reſolv'd in their Council to forge that Account, in order to ſtop our Voyage; and few days after we met with a favourable opportunity for it.

The *Illinois* had made an Excurſion South-ward; as they were returning with ſome Priſoners, one of their Warriours came before their Comrades, and viſited us at our Fort; we entertain'd him as well as we could, and ask'd him ſeveral Queſtions touching the River *Meſchaſipi*, from whence he came, and where he had been oftentimes, giving him to underſtand, that ſome other Savage had given us an Account of it. He took a piece of Charcoal, and drew a Map of the Courſe of that River, which I found afterwards pretty exact; and told us, that he had been in a *Pyrogue*; that is, a Canou made of the Trunk of a Tree, from the Mouth of this River, very near the Place where the *Meſchaſipi* falls into the great Lake; for ſo they call the Sea: That there was neither Falls, nor rapid Currents, as we had been told; that it was very broad towards the great Lake, and interrupted with Banks of Sand; but that there were large Canals betwixt them, deep enough for any *Pyrogue*. He told

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us also the Name of several Nations inhabiting the Banks of *Meschasipi*, and of several Rivers that fall into it. I set down in my Journal all that he told us, of which I shall perhaps give a larger Account in another place. We made him a small Present, to thank him for his Kindness, in discovering a Truth, which the Chief of his Nation had so carefully conceal'd. He desir'd us to hold our tongue, and never to mention him, which we promis'd; and gave him an Axe, wherewith we shut his mouth, according to the Custom of the Savages, when they recommend a Secret.

The next day, after Prayers, we went to the Village of the *Illinois*; whom we found in the Cabin of one of their Chiefs; who entertain'd them with a Bear, whose Flesh is much valu'd among them. They desir'd us to sit down upon a fine Mat of Rushes: And some time after our Interpreter told them, that we were come to acquaint them, that the Maker of all Things, and the Master of the Lives of Men, took a particular Care of us, and had been pleas'd to let us have a true Account of the River *Meschasipi*; the Navigation whereof they had represented to us as impracticable. We added all the Particulars we had learn'd, but in such Terms, that it was impossible they should suspect any of their Men.

The Savages were much surpriz'd, and did not doubt but we had that Account by some extraordinary Way; therefore they shut their Mouths with their Hands; which is their usual Custom to express their Admiration by. They told us frankly afterwards, that the great desire they had to stop amongst them our Captain, and the *Grey-Coats* or *Barefoot*, as they call the *Franciscans*, had oblig'd them to forge the Stories they had told us, and to conceal the Truth; but since we had come to the Knowledge of it by another way, they would tell us all that they knew; and confirm'd every Particular their Warriour had told

told us. This Confeſſion remov'd the Fears of our Men, who were few days after ſtill more fully perſwaded that the *Illinois* had only deſign'd to frighten us from our Diſcovery: For ſeveral Savages of the Nations of *Oſages*, *Cikaga*, and *Akanſa*, came to ſee us, and brought fine Furrs to barter for our Axes. They told us that the *Meſchaſipi* was navigable almoſt from its Source to the Sea; and gave us great Encouragement to go on with our Deſign, aſſuring us, that all the Nations inhabiting along the River, from the Mouth of that of the *Illinois*, to the Sea, would come to meet us, and dance the *Calumet* of Peace, as they expreſs it, and make an Alliance with us.

The *Miami's* arriv'd much about that time, and danc'd the *Calumet* with the *Illinois*, making an Alliance with them againſt the *Iroqueſe*, their implacable Enemies. We were Witneſſes to their Treaty; and M. *la Salle* made them ſome Preſents, the better to oblige both Parties to the Obſervation of their League.

We were three Miſſionaries for that handful of *Europeans* at Fort *Crevecœur*; and therefore we thought fit to divide our ſelves: Father *Gabriel* being very old, was to continue with our Men; and Father *Zenobe* among the *Illinois*, having deſir'd it himſelf, in hopes to convert that numerous Nation: And I, as I have already related, was to go on with our Diſcovery. Father *Zenobe* liv'd already among the *Illinois*, but the rude Manners of that People made him ſoon weary of it. His Landlord, whoſe Name was *Omahouha*, that is to ſay *Wolf*, was the Head of a Tribe, and took a ſpecial Care of Father *Zenobe*, eſpecially after M. *la Salle* had made him ſome Preſents: He lov'd him as his Child; but however, I perceiv'd in the Viſits he made us, (for he liv'd but within half a League of our Fort) that he was not ſatisfi'd to live amongſt that brutiſh Nation, though he had already learn'd their Tongue. This oblig'd me to offer him

to take his place, provided he would supply mine, and go on with our Discovery amongst several Nations, whose Language we did not understand, and who had never heard of us; but Father *Zenobe* foreseeing the Danger and Fatigue I was like to be expos'd to, chose to remain with the *Illinois*, whose Temper he knew, and with whom he was able to converse.

M. *la Salle* left M. *Tonti* to command in Fort *Crevecœur*, and order'd our Carpenter to prepare some thick Planks of Oak, to fence the Deck of our Barque in the nature of a Parapet, to cover it against the Arrows of the Savages, in case they design'd to shoot at us from the Shoar. Then calling his Men together, he desir'd them to obey M. *Tonti*'s Orders in his Absence, to live in a Christian Union and Charity; to be courageous and firm in their Design; and above all, to give no credit to the false Reports that the Savages might make unto them, either of him, or of their Comrades that were going with me. He assur'd them, that he would return with all the speed imaginable, and bring along with him a fresh Supply of Men, Ammunition, and Rigging for our Barque; and that in the mean time he left them Arms, and other things necessary for a vigorous Defence, in case their Enemies should attack them before his Return.

He told me afterwards, that he expected I should depart without any farther Delay; but I told him, that tho' I had promis'd him to do it, yet a Defluxion I had on my Gums a Year since, as he knew very well, oblig'd me to return to *Canada*, to be cur'd; and that I would then come back with him. He was very much surpriz'd, and told me, he would write to my Superiours, that I had obstructed the good Success of our Mission, and desir'd Father *Gabriel* to perswade me to the contrary. That good Man had been my Master, during my *Novitiate* in

our

our Convent of *Bethune*, in the Province of *Artois*; and therefore I had so great a Respect for him, that I yielded to his Advice; and consider'd, that since a Man of his Age had ventur'd to come along with me in so dangerous a Mission, it would look as Pusillanimity in me to return and leave him. That Father had left a very good Estate, being Heir of a Noble Family of the Province of *Burgundy*; and I must own, that his Example reviv'd my Courage upon several Occasions.

M. *la Salle* was mightily pleas'd when I told him I was resolv'd to go, notwithstanding my Indisposition: He embrac'd me, and gave me a *Calumet* of Peace; and two Men to manage our Canou, whose Names were *Anthony Auguel*, sirnam'd the *Picard du Gay*; and *Mitchel Ako*, of the Province of *Poictou*, to whom he gave some Commodities to the value of about 1000 Livres, to trade with the Savages, or make Presents. He gave to me in particular, and for my own use, ten Knives, twelve Shooe-maker's Auls or Bodkins, a small Roll of Tobacco from *Martinico*, about two Pounds of *Rassade*; that is to say, Little Pearls or Rings of colour'd Glass, wherewith the Savages make Bracelets, and other Works, and a small Parcel of Needles to give to the Savages; telling me, that he would have given me a greater quantity, if it had been in his Power.

The Reader may judge by these Particulars, of the rest of my Equipage for so great an Undertaking; however, relying my self on the Providence of God, I took my leave of M. *la Salle*, and embrac'd all our Men, receiving the Blessing of Father *Gabriel*, who told me several things, to inspire me with Courage; concluding his Exhortation by these Words of the Scripture, *Viriliter age, & confortetur Cor tuum.*

M. *la Salle* set out a few days after for *Canada*, with three Men, without any Provisions, but what they kill'd in their Journey, during which they suffer'd

very much, by reason of the Snow, Hunger and cold Weather.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Author sets out from Fort Crevecœur, *to continue his Voyage.*

WHosoever will consider the Dangers to which I was going to expose my self, in an unknown Country, where no *European* had travell'd before, and amongst some Savages, whose Language I did not understand, will not blame the Reluctancy I expressed against that Voyage: I had such an Idea of it, that neither the fair Words, or Threats of M. *la Salle*, would have been able to engage me to venture my Life so rashly, had I not felt within my self a secret but strong Assurance, if I may use that Word, that God would help and prosper my Undertaking.

We set out from Fort *Crevecœur* on the 29th of *February*, 1680, and as we fell down the River, we met with several Companies of Savages, who return'd to their Habitations, with their *Pirogues* or Wooden-Canou's, loaded with the Bulls they had kill'd: they would fain persuade us to return with them, and the two Men who were with me, were very willing to follow their Advice; telling me that M. *la Salle* had as good to have murther'd us: But I oppos'd their Design, and told them that the rest of our Men wou'd stop them as they shou'd come by the Fort, if they offer'd to return, and so we continu'd our Voyage. They confess'd to me the next Day, that they had resolv'd to leave me with the Savages, and make their Escape with the Canou and Commodities, thinking that there was no Sin in that, since M. *la Salle* was indebted to them in a great deal more than their Value; and that I had been very safe. This was the

first

first Discouragement I met with, and the Forerunner of a great many others.

The River of the *Illinois* is very near as deep and broad as the *Meuse* and *Sambre* before *Namur*; but we found some Places where 'tis about a quarter of a League broad. The Banks of the River are not even, but interrupted with Hills, dispos'd almost at an equal distance, and cover'd with fine Trees. The Valley between them is a Marshey Ground, which is overflow'd after great Rains, especially in the Autumn and the Spring. We had the Curiosity to go up one of those Hills, from whence we discover'd vast Meadows, with Forests, such as we had seen before we arriv'd at the Village of the *Illinois*. The River flows so softly, that the Current is hardly perceptible, except when it swells: But it will carry at all times great Barques for above 100 Leagues; that is, from the said Village to its Mouth. It runs directly to the South-west. On the 7th of *March* we met, within two Leagues from the River *Meschasipi*, a Nation of the Savages call'd *Tamaroa* or *Maroa*, consisting of about 200 Families. They design'd to bring us along with them to their Village, which lies to the West of *Meschasipi*, about seven Leagues from the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*; but my Men follow'd my Advice, and wou'd not stop, in hopes to exchange their Commodities with more Advantage in a more remote Place. Our Resolution was very good; for I don't question but they would have robb'd us; for seeing we had some Arms, they thought we were going to carry them to their Enemies. They pursu'd us in their *Pyrogues* or Wooden-Canows; but ours being made of Bark of Birch-Trees, and consequently ten times lighter than theirs, and better fram'd, we laught at their Endeavours, and got clear of them. They had sent a Party of their Warriours to lie in Ambuscade on a Neck of Land advancing into the River, where they thought we should pass that Evening or the next Morning;

but having discover'd some Smoak on that Point, we spoil'd their Design, and therefore cross'd the River, and landed in a small Island near the other side, where we lay all the Night, leaving our Canou in the Water, under the Guard of a little Dog; who doubtless wou'd have awak'd us, if any body had offer'd to come near him; as we expected the Savages might attempt it, swimming over in the Night; but no body came to disturb us. Having thus avoided those Savages, we came to the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, distant from their great Village about 100 Leagues, and 50 from Fort *Crevecœur*. It falls into the *Meschasipi* between 35 and 36 Degrees of Latitude, and within 120 or 130 Leagues from the Gulph of *Mexico*, according to our Conjecture, without including the Turnings and Windings of the *Meschasipi*, from thence to the Sea.

The Angle between the two Rivers on the South-side, is a steep Rock of forty Foot high, and flat on the Top, and consequently a fit Place to build a Fort; and on the other side of the River, the Ground appears blackish, from whence I judge that it would prove fertile, and afford two Crops every Year, for the subsistence of a Colony. The Soil looks as if it had been already manur'd.

The Ice which came down from the Source of the *Meschasipi*, stopp'd us in that Place till the 12th of *March*; for we were afraid of our Canou: But when we saw the Danger over, we continu'd our Course, sounding the River, to know whether it was navigable. There are three small Islands over-against the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, which stop the Trees and Pieces of Timber that come down the River; which by succession of time, has form'd some Banks: But the Canals are deep enough for the greatest Barques; and I judge that in the driest Summer, there is Water enough for flat-bottom-Boats.

The

The *Meſchaſipi* runs to the South-South-Weſt, between two Ridges of Mountains, which follow the great Windings of the River. They are near the Banks, at the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, and are not very high; but in other Places, they are ſome Leagues diſtant; and the Meadows between the River and the Foot of thoſe Hills, are cover'd with an infinite number of wild Bulls. The Country beyond thoſe Hills is ſo fine and pleaſant, that according to the Account I have had, one might juſtly call it the *Delight of America*.

The *Meſchaſipi* is in ſome places a League broad, and half a League where it is narroweſt. The Rapidity in its Current is ſomewhat abated, by a great number of Iſlands, cover'd with fine Trees interlac'd with Vines. It receives but two Rivers from the weſt Side, one whereof is call'd *Otontenta*; and the other diſcharges it ſelf into it near the Fall of St. *Anthony of Padoua*, as we ſhall obſerve hereafter; But ſo many others run into the *Meſchaſipi* from the North, that it ſwells very much toward its Mouth.

I am reſolv'd to give here an Account of the Courſe of that River; which I have hither to conceal'd, for the Sake of M. *la Salle*, who wou'd aſcribe to himſelf alone the Glory, and the moſt ſecret Part of this Diſcovery. He was ſo fond of it, that he has expos'd to viſible danger ſeveral Perſons, that they might not publiſh what they had ſeen, and thereby prejudice his ſecret Deſigns.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The Course of the River Meschasipi *from the Mouth of the River of the* Illinois, *to the Sea; which the Author did not think fit to publish in his* Louisiana; *with an Account of the Reasons he had to undertake that Discovery.*

THere is no Man but remembers with Pleasure the great Dangers he has escap'd; and I must confess, that when I call to mind the great Difficulties I was under at the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, and the Perils I was expos'd to in the Discovery of the Course of the *Meschasipi*, my Joy and Satisfaction cannot be expres'd. I was as good as sure that M. *la Salle* wou'd slander me, and represent me to my Superiors as a wilful and obstinate Man, if I presum'd to go down the *Meschasipi* instead of going up to the *North*, as I was desir'd, and as we had conserted together; and therefore I was very loath to undertake it: But on the other Hand, I was expos'd to starve, and threatned by my two Men, that if I oppos'd their Resolution of going down the River, they would leave me a-shoar during the Night, and carry away the Canou where-ever they pleased; so that I thought it was reasonable to prefer my own Preservation to the Ambition of M. *la Salle*; and so I agreed to follow my Men; who seeing me in that good Disposition, promis'd that they would be faithful to me.

We shook Hands, to seal these Promises; and after Prayers, imbark'd in our Canou the 8th of *March*, 1680. The Ice which came down from the North, gave us a great deal of trouble; but we were so careful, that our Canou receiv'd no hurt; and after six Hours rowing, we came to a River of a Nation call'd *Osages*, who live toward the *Messorites*. That River

River comes from the Westward, and seems as big as the *Meschasipi*; but the Water is so muddy, that 'tis almost impossible to drink of it.

The *Issati*, who inhabit toward the Source of the *Meschasipi*, make sometimes Excursions as far as the Place where I was then; and I understood afterwards from them, having learn'd their Language, that this River of the *Osages* and *Messorites*, is form'd from several other Rivers, which spring from a Mountain about twelve Day's Journey from its Mouth. They told me farther, that from that Mountain one might see the Sea, and now and then some great Ships; that the Banks of that River are inhabited by several Nations; and that they have abundance of wild Bulls and Beavers.

Tho' this River is very big, the *Meschasipi* does not visibly swell by the accession of it; but its Waters continue muddy to its Mouth, albeit seven other Rivers fall into it, which are near as big as the *Meschasipi*, and whose Waters are extraordinary clear.

We lay every Night in Islands, at least if it were possible, for our greater Security; and as soon as we had roasted or boyl'd our *Indian* Corn, we were very careful to put out our Fire; for in these Countries they smell Fire at two or three Leagues distance, according to the Wind. The Savages take a particular notice of it, to discover where their Enemies are, and endeavour to surprize them.

The 9th we continu'd our Voyage, and six Leagues from the River of the *Osages*, discover'd on the South-side of the *Meschasipi*, a Village, which we thought to be inhabited by the *Tamaroa*, who had pursu'd us, as I have related. Seeing no body appear, we landed, and went into their Cabins, wherein we found *Indian* Corn, of which we took some Bushels, leaving in lieu of it six Knives, and a small quantity of little Glass-Beads. This was good luck for us; for we durst

durst not leave the River, and go a hunting for fear of falling into the Hands of the Savages.

The next Day, being the Tenth of *March*, we came to a River within Forty Leagues of *Tamaroa*; near which, as the *Illinois* inform'd us, there is a Nation of Savages call'd *Ouadebache*. We remain'd there till the Fourteenth, because one of our Men kill'd a wild Cow, as she was swimming over the River, whose Flesh we were oblig'd to dry with Smoak, to preserve it from putrifying. Being thus provided with *Indian* Corn and Flesh, we left that Place the Fourteenth, and saw nothing worth Observation. The Banks of the River are so muddy, and so full of Rushes and Reeds, that we had much ado to find a Place to go ashore.

The Fifteenth we discover'd three Savages, who came from Hunting, or from some Expedition. As we were able to make head against them, we landed, and march'd up to them; whereupon they run away; but after some Signs, one return'd, and presented us the *Calumet* of Peace, which we receiv'd; and the others came back. We did not understand a Word of what they said; nor they, I suppose, what we told them: Tho' having nam'd them two or three different Nations, one answer'd three times *Chikacha*, or *Sikacha*, which was likely the Name of his Nation. They gave us some *Pelicans* they had kill'd with their Arrows; and we presented them with part of our Meat. Our Canou being too little lo take them in, they continu'd their way, making several Signs with their Hands, to follow them along the Shore; but we quickly lost the Sight of them.

Two days after, we saw a great number of Savages near the River-side; and heard immediately after a certain Noise, as of a Drum; and as we came near the Shore, the Savages cry'd aloud *Sasacouest*; that is to say, *Who goes there?* as I have been inform'd. We were unwilling to land; but they sent us a *Pi-*

rogue

rogue or heavy Wooden Canou, made of the Trunk of a Tree, which they make hollow with Fire; and we diſcover'd amongſt them the three Savages we had met two Days before. We preſented our *Calumet* of Peace, which they receiv'd; but gave us to underſtand by Signs, that we muſt go to the *Akanſa*; for they repeated ſo often that Word, pointing at the Savages a-ſhore, that I believe this is the right Name of their Nation. We cou'd not avoid it; and as ſoon as we were landed, the three *Chikacha* took our Canou upon their Shoulders, and carry'd it to the Village. The Savages receiv'd us very kindly, and gave us a Cabin for our ſelves alone; and preſented us with Beans, *Indian* Corn, and Fleſh to eat. We made them alſo ſome Preſents of our *European* Commodities, which they admir'd: They put their Fingers upon their Mouth, eſpecially when they ſaw our Guns; and I think this way of expreſſing their Surprize, is common to all the Savages of the Northern *America*.

Theſe Savages are very different from thoſe of the North, who are commonly ſad, penſive, and ſevere; whereas theſe appear'd jovial, civil, and free. Their Youth are ſo modeſt, that they dare not ſpeak before Old Men, unleſs they are ask'd any Queſtion. I obſerved they have tame Poultry, as Hens, Turkey-Cocks, and Buſtards, which are as tame as our Geeſe. Their Trees began to ſhew their Fruit, as Peaches, and the like; which muſt be a great deal bigger than ours. Our Men lik'd very well the Manner of theſe People; and if they had found any Furrs and Skins to barter for their Commodities, they would have left me amongſt them; but I told them, that our Diſcovery was more important to them than their Trade; and advis'd them to hide their Commodities under-ground, which they might take again upon our return, and exchange them with the Savages of the North. They approv'd my Advice, and were

ſenſible

sensible that they should prevent many Dangers; for Men are covetous in all Countries.

The Eighteenth we embark'd again, after having been entertain'd with Dancing and Feasting; and carry'd away our Commodities, tho' the Savages were very loth to part with them; but having accepted our *Calumet* of Peace, they did not presume to stop us by Force.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A Continuation of our Voyage on the River Meschasipi.

AS we fell down the River, we look'd for a fit Place to hide our Commodities, and at last pitch'd upon one between two Eminences near a Wood. We took up the green Sodds, lay'd them by, and digg'd a Hole in the Earth, where we put our Goods, and cover'd them with Pieces of Timber and Earth, and then put on again the green Turf; so that 'twas impossible to suspect that any Hole had been digg'd under it, for we flung the Earth into the River. We tore afterwards the Bark of three Oaks and of a large Cotton-tree, and ingrav'd thereon four Crosses, that we might not miss the Place at our Return. We embark'd again with all speed, and past by another Village of Savages about six Leagues from *Akansa*, and then landed at another two Leagues lower, where we were kindly entertain'd. Men, Women, and Children came to meet us; which makes me believe that the first *Akansa* had given notice of our arrival, to all the Villages of their Nation. We made them some Presents of little Value, which they thought very considerable. Presents are the Symbols of Peace in all those Countries.

The Twenty first those Savages carry'd us in a *Pyrogue* to see a Nation farther off into the Country, which

which they call *Taenſa*; for they repeated often that Word, ſo that we could not but remember it. Thoſe Savages inhabit the Banks of a Lake form'd by the *Meſchaſipi*; but I had not time enough to make any particular Obſervation concerning ſeveral of the Villages which I ſaw.

Theſe Savages receiv'd us with much more Ceremonies than the *Akanſa*; for their Chief came in great Solemnity to the Shore to meet us. He had a kind of a white Gown on, made of Cloth of Bark of Trees, which their Women ſpun; and two Men carry'd before him a thin Plate of Copper, as ſhining as Gold. We preſented our *Calumet* of Peace, which he receiv'd with Joy and much Gravity. The Men, Women, and Children, who attended him, expreſs'd a great Reſpect for me, and kiſs'd the Sleeves of the *Habit of St. Francis*; which made me believe that they had ſeen ſome *Spaniſh Franciſcans* from *New Mexico*, it being uſual there to kiſs the *Habit of our Order*: But this is a meer Conjecture; tho' I obſerv'd they did not pay that Reſpect to the two Men that were with me.

The *Taenſa* conducted us into a fine Cabin of flat Ruſhes and ſhining Reeds, and entertain'd us as well as their Country could afford; and then Men and Women, who are half cover'd in that Country, danc'd together before us. Their way of Dancing is much more difficult than ours, but perhaps as pleaſant, were it not for their Muſick, which is very diſagreeable. Women repeat every Word the Men have ſung.

That Country is full of Palm-trees, wild Laurels, Plum-trees, Mulbery-trees, Peach-trees, Apple-trees, and Walnut-trees of five or ſix kinds, whoſe Nuts are a great deal bigger than ours. They have alſo ſeveral ſorts of Fruit-trees unknown in *Europe*, but I could not diſcern the Fruit, becauſe of the Seaſon of the Year.

The

The Manners and Temper of that Nation is very different from that of the *Iroquese*, *Hurons*, and *Illinois*. These are Civil, Easie, Tractable, and capable of Instructions; whereas the others are meer Brutes, as fierce and cruel as any wild Beasts. We lay that Night in their Village, and were entertain'd as civilly as we could have wish'd for; and we did likewise our utmost to oblige them: We shew'd them the Effect of our Fire-Arms, and a Pistol which shot four Bullets one after another, without needing to be new charg'd. Our Men took their best Cloth, which pleas'd them very much; and they seem'd well satisfy'd with us, as they express'd by many Signs and Demonstrations. They sent over-night to the *Koroa*, who are their Allies, to give them notice of our Arrival; and their Chief came next Morning in great Ceremony to see us. They seem'd transported with Joy, and 'tis great pity we could not understand what they told us, to know what Opinion they entertain'd of us, and from what Part of the World they fansied we came. I order'd my Men to square a Tree, and having made a Cross, we planted it near the Cabin where we lay.

The Twenty second we left that obliging People, and the Chief of the *Koroa* attended us to his Village, which is situated about ten Leagues lower, upon the River, in a fertile Soil, which produces abundance of *Indian* Corn, and other things necessary for Life. We presented them with three Axes, six Knives, seven Yards of good Tobacco, several Awls and Needles. They receiv'd our Presents with great Shouts, and their Chief presented us with a *Calumet* of Peace of red Marble, the Quill whereof was adorn'd with Feathers of five or six sorts of Birds.

They gave us also a Noble Treat according to their own way, which I lik'd very well; and after we had din'd, the Chief of that Nation understanding by our Signs which way we were bound, took a Stick, and made

made ſuch Demonſtrations, that we underſtood that we had not above ſeven Days Journey to the Sea, which he repreſented as a great Lake with large wooden Canou's. The next Day we prepar'd to continue our Voyage; but they made ſuch Signs to oblige us to ſtay a Day or two longer, that I was almoſt perſwaded to do it; but ſeeing the Weather ſo favourable for our Journey, we embark'd again. The Chief of that Nation, ſeeing we were reſolv'd to be gone, ſent ſeveral Men in two *Pyrogues*, to attend us to the Mouth of the River with Proviſions; but when I ſaw that the three *Chikacha*, of whom I have ſpoken, follow'd us every where, I bid my Men to have care of them, and obſerve their Motions upon our landing, for fear of any Surprize. It was then *Eaſter*-day, which we kept with great Devotion, tho' we could not ſay Maſs for want of Wine; but we ſpent all the Day in Prayers in ſight of the Savages, who wonder'd much at it.

The *Meſchaſipi* divides it ſelf into two Channels, and thereby forms a large Iſland, which to our thinking was very long, and might be about ſixty Leagues broad. The *Koroa* oblig'd us to follow the Canal to the Weſtward, tho' the *Chikacha*, who were in their *Pyrogues*, endeavour'd to perſwade me to take the other: But as we had ſome ſuſpicion of them, we refus'd to follow their Advice; tho' I was afterwards convinc'd, that they deſign'd only to have the Honour to bring us to ſeveral Nations on the other Side of the River, whom we viſited in our return.

We loſt quickly the Company of our Savages; for the Stream being very rapid in this Place, they could not follow us in their *Pyrogues*, which are very heavy. We made that Day near forty Leagues, and landed in the Evening upon the Iſland, where we pitch'd our Cabin.

The Twenty fourth we continu'd our Voyage; and about five and thirty Leagues below the Place we

we had lain, we discover'd two Fishermen, who immediately ran away. We heard some time after a great Cry, and the Noise of a Drum; but as we suspected the *Chikacha*, we kept in the middle of the River, rowing as fast as we could. This was the Nation of *Quinipissa*, as we understood since. We landed that Night in a Village belonging to the Nation of *Tangibac*, as we have been inform'd; but the Inhabitants had been surpriz'd by their Enemies, for we found ten of them murther'd in their Cabins; which oblig'd us to embark again, and cross the River, where we landed, and having made a Fire, roasted our *Indian* Corn.

The Twenty fifth we left the Place early in the Morning; and after having row'd the best part of the Day, came to a Point where the *Meschasipi* divides it self into three Chanels: We took the middle one, which is very broad and deep. The Water began there to taste brackish, but four Leagues lower it was as salt as the Sea. We rowed about four Leagues farther, and discover'd the Sea, which oblig'd us to go a-shore to the Eastward of the River.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Reasons which oblig'd us to return towards the Source of the River Meschasipi, *without going any farther toward the Sea.*

MY two Men were very much afraid of the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico*, who inhabit to the Westward of this River; and they were perpetually telling me, that if they were taken, the *Spaniards* would never spare their Lives, or at least give them the Liberty to return into *Europe*. I knew their Fears were not altogether unreasonable; and therefore I resolv'd to go no farther, tho' I had no reason to be afraid

afraid for my ſelf, our Order being ſo numerous in *New Mexico*, that, on the contrary, I might expect to have had in that Country a peaceable and eaſie Life.

I don't pretend to be a Mathematician, but having learn'd to take the Elevation of the Pole, and make uſe of the Aſtrolabe, I might have made ſome exact Obſervations, had M. *la Salle* truſted me with that Inſtrument: However, I obſerv'd that the *Meſchaſipi* falls into the Gulph of *Mexico*, between the 27th and 28th Degrees of Latitude, where, as I believe, our Maps mark a River call'd *Rio Eſcondido*, the Hidden River. The *Magdalen* River runs between this River and the Mines of *St. Barbe* that are in *New Mexico*.

The Mouth of the *Meſchaſipi* may be about thirty Leagues from *Rio Bravo*, ſixty from *Palmas*, and eighty or a hundred from *Rio Panuco*, the neareſt Habitation of the *Spaniards*; and according to theſe Obſervations, the Bay *di Spirito Sancto* lies to the North-Eaſt of the *Meſchaſipi*, which from the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois* to the Sea, runs directly to the South, or South-Weſt, except in its Windings and Turnings, which are ſo great, that by our Computation there are about 340 Leagues from the River of the *Illinois* to the Sea, whereas there are not above 150 in a direct Line. The *Meſchaſipi* is very deep, without being interrupted by any Sands, ſo that the biggeſt Ships may come into it. Its Courſe from its Source to the Sea, may be 800 Leagues, including Windings and Turnings, as I ſhall obſerve anon, having travell'd from its Mouth to its Head.

My Men were very glad of this Diſcovery, and to have eſcap'd ſo many Dangers; but, on the other hand, they expreſs'd a great deal of diſſatisfaction to have been at ſuch trouble, without making any Profit, having found no Furrs to exchange for their Commodities. They were ſo impatient to return, that they would never ſuffer me to build a Cabin up-

on the Shoar, and continue there for some days, the better to observe where we were. They squar'd a Tree of twelve foot high, and made a Cross thereof, which we erected in that Place, leaving there a Letter sign'd by me and my two Men, containing an Account of our Voyage, of our Country, and Profession. We kneel'd then near the Cross, and having sung the *Vexilla Regis*, and some other Hymns, embark'd again on the first of *April* to return towards the Source of the River.

We saw no body while we continu'd there, and therefore cannot tell whether any Natives inhabit that Coast. We lay, during the time we remain'd a-shoar, under our Canou's, supported with four Forks; and the better to protect us against the Rain, we had some Rolls of Birch-Bark, wherewith we made a kind of Curtains about our Canou, hanging from the top down to the ground. 'Tis observable, that during the whole Course of our Sailing, God protected us against the Crocodiles, which are very numerous in that River, and especially towards the Mouth: They look'd dreadful, and would have attack'd us, had we not been very careful to avoid them. We were very good Husbands of our *Indian* Corn; for the Banks of the River being full of Reeds, it was almost impossible to land to endeavour to kill some Beasts for our Subsistence.

Our Canou being loaded only with three Men and our Provisions, did not draw three Inches Water, and therefore we could row very near the Shoar, and avoid the Current of the River; and besides, my Men had such a desire to return to the North, that that very day we came to *Tangibao*; but because the Savages we had found murther'd in their Cabins, made us believe, that that Place was not safe, we continu'd our Voyage all the Night long, after having supp'd, lighting a great Match to fright the Crocodiles away, for they fear nothing so much as Fire.

The

The next day, *April* 2. we saw towards break of Day a great Smoak not far from us, and a little while after we discover'd four Savage Women loaded with Wood, and marching as fast as they could to get to their Village before us; but we prov'd too nimble for them at first. However, some Bustards coming near us, one of my Men could not forbear to shoot at them; which so much frighted these Women, that they left their Load of Wood, and run away to their Village, where they arriv'd before us. The Savages having heard the Noise, were in as great fear as their Wives, and left the Village upon our approach; but I landed immediately, and advanc'd alone with the *Calumet* of Peace; whereupon they return'd, and receiv'd us with all the Respect and Civility imaginable. They brought us into a great Cabin, and gave us several things to eat, sending notice in the mean time to their Allies, that we were arriv'd there; so that a great number of People crowded about to see us. They admir'd our Guns, and lifting up their Hands to Heaven, made us conceive they compar'd them to Thunder and Lightning; but seeing us shoot Birds at a great distance, they were so amaz'd that they could not speak a word. Our Men were so kindly entertain'd, that had it not been for the Commodities they had hid under-ground, they would have remain'd amongst that Nation; and truly it was chiefly to prevent any such thing, that I order'd them to do it; judging from the Civility of those Savages, that they were like to be tempted to remain with them. This Nation call'd themselves *Quinipissa*.

We made them some small Presents, to shew our Gratitude for their kind Entertainment, and left that Place, *April* 4. and row'd with such diligence, that we arriv'd the same day at *Koroa*. That Nation was not frighted as at the first time, but receiv'd us with all imaginable Demonstrations of Joy, carrying our

Canou upon their Shoulders in a triumphant manner, and twelve Men dancing before us with fine Feathers in their hands. The Women follow'd us with their Children, who held me by my Gown and Girdle, expressing much the same Kindness to my two Men. They conducted me in that manner to the Cabin they had prepar'd for us, made of fine Mats of painted Rushes, and adorn'd with white Coverings made of the Bark of Trees, spun as finely as our Linen-Cloth; and after we had refresh'd our selves, with the Victuals they had prepar'd for us, they left us alone, to give us time to rest our selves, which we did all the Night long. The next Morning I was surpriz'd to see their *Indian* Corn, which we left very green, grown already to Maturity; but I have learn'd since, that that Corn is ripe sixty days after it is sown. I observ'd there also another sort of Corn; but for want of understanding their Language, I was not able to know its Use and Name.

CHAP. XL.

An Account of our Departure from Koroa, *to continue our Voyage.*

I Left *Koroa* the next day, *April* 5. with a design to visit several Nations inhabiting the Coast of the *Meschasipi*, but my Men would never consent thereunto, telling me that they had no Business there, and they were oblig'd to make all the haste they could towards the North, to exchange their Commodities for Furrs. I told them, that the Publick Good was to be preferr'd to Private Interest; but I could not perswade them to any such thing; and they told me that every one ought to be free; that they were resolv'd to go towards the Source of the River, but that I might remain amongst those Nations, if I thought fit. In short, I found my self oblig'd to submit to

their

their Will, though they had receiv'd Orders to obey my Direction. We arriv'd the 7th in the Habitation of the *Taensa's*, who had already been inform'd of our return from the Sea, and were prepar'd to receive us; having for that end sent for their Allies inhabiting the in-land Country to the West-ward of the River. They us'd all possible endeavours to oblige us to remain with them, and offer'd us a great many things; but our Men would not stay one single day; though I confess the Civility of that People, and the good Disposition I observ'd in them, wou'd have stopp'd me amongst them, had I been provided with things necessary for the Function of my Ministry.

We parted the 8th, and the *Taensa's* follow'd us several Leagues in their lightest *Pyrogues*, but were at last oblig'd to quit us, being not able to keep pace with our Canou. One of our Men shot three Wild-Ducks at once, which they admir'd above all things, it being impossible to do so with their Arrows. We gave them some Tobacco, and parted from them, our Men rowing with all their Strength, to let them see we had kept company with them out of meer Civility.

The 9th, we came to the Place where our Men had hidden their Commodities; but when my Men saw that the Savages had burnt the Trees which we had mark'd, they were so afraid, that they were near sounding away, and did not doubt but their Goods were lost. We went a-shoar; and while I was mending our Canou, they went to look for their Treasure, which they found in good condition. They were so transported with Joy, that *Picard* came immediately to tell me that all was well. In the mean time, the *Akansa's* having receiv'd advice of our Return, came down in great numbers along the River to meet us; and lest they should see our Men taking again their Goods from under the Ground, I advanced to meet them with the *Calumet* of Peace, and

stopt them to smoak, it being a sacred Law amongst them to smoak in such a Juncture; and whosoever would refuse, must run the danger of being murther'd by the Savages, who have an extraordinary Veneration for the *Calumet*.

Whilst I stopt them, my Men put their Commodities into their Canou, and came to take me into it. The Savages saw nothing of it, of which I was very glad; for though they were our own, perhaps they might claim part of them upon some Pretence or other. I made several signs upon the Sand, to make them apprehend what I thought; but with what Success I don't know, for I could not understand a word of what they said, their Language having no affinity with those of their Neighbours I have convers'd withal, both since and after my Voyage to the Mouth of the *Meschasipi*.

I got into the Canou, and went by Water to the Village of the *Akansa's*, while they went by Land; but our Men row'd so fast, that they could hardly keep pace with us. One of them, who was a good Runner, arriv'd at the Village before us, and came to the Shoar with the Women and Children to receive us, which they did even with more Civility than they had expres'd the first time. Our Men suspected that this was only to get our Commodities, which they admir'd; but they are certainly a good sort of People; and instead of deserving the Name of a Barbarous Nation, as the *Europeans* call all the Natives of *America*, I think they have more Humanity than many Natives of *Europe*, who pretend to be very civil and affable to Strangers.

It would be needless to give here an exact Account of the Feasts and Dances that were made for our Entertainment, or of the Melancholy they expres'd upon our Departure. I must own, that I had much a-do to leave them, but my two Men would not give me leave to tarry a day, seeing these Nations, having had

had no Commerce with the *Europeans*, did not know the Value of Beavers Skins, or other Furrs, whereas they thought that the Savages inhabiting about the Source of the *Meſchaſipi*, might have been inform'd thereof by the Inhabitants of the Banks of the upper or Great Lake, which we found to be true, as we ſhall obſerve anon. We left the *Akanſa's* upon the 24th of *April*, having preſented them with ſeveral little Toys, which they receiv'd with an extraordinary Joy; and during ſixty Leagues, ſaw no Savage neither of the Nation of *Chikacha*, or *Meſſorite*, which made us believe they were gone a hunting with their Families, or elſe fled away, for fear of the Savages of *Tintonha*, that is to ſay, ſuch as inhabit the Meadows, who are their irreconcileable Enemies.

This made our Voyage the more eaſie, for our Men landed ſeveral times to kill ſome Fowl and other Game, with which the Banks of the *Meſchaſipi* are plentifully ſtock'd; however, before we came to the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, we diſcover'd ſeveral of the *Meſſorites*, who came down all along the River; but as they had no *Pyrogues* with them, we croſs'd to the other ſide; and to avoid any Surprize during the Night, we made no fire; and thereby the Savages could not diſcover whereabout we were; for doubtleſs they would have murther'd us, thinking we were their Enemies.

I had quite forgot to relate, that the *Illinois* had told us, that towards the Cape, which I have call'd in my Map St. *Anthony* near the Nation of the *Meſſorites*, there were ſome *Tritons*, and other Sea-Monſters painted, which the boldeſt Men durſt not look upon, there being ſome Enchantment in their Faces. I thought this was a Story; but when we came near the Place they had mention'd, we ſaw inſtead of theſe Monſters, a Horſe and ſome other Beaſts painted upon the Rock with red Colours by the Savages. The *Illinois* had told us likewiſe, that the Rock on which

these dreadful Monsters stood, was so steep that no Man could climb up to it; but had we not been afraid of the Savages more than of the Monsters, we had certainly got up to them. There is a common Tradition amongst that People, That a great number of *Miami's* were drown'd in that Place, being pursu'd by the Savages of *Matsigamea*; and since that time, the Savages going by the Rock, use to smoak, and offer Tobacco to those Beasts, to appease, as they say, the *Manitou*, that is, in the Language of the *Algonquins* and *Accadians*, an evil Spirit, which the *Iroquese* call *Otkon*; but the Name is the only thing they know of him.

While I was at *Quebec*, I understood that M. *Jolliet* had been upon the *Meschasipi*, and oblig'd to return without going down that River, because of the Monsters I have spoken of, who had frighted him, as also because he was afraid to be taken by the *Spaniards*; and having an Opportunity to know the Truth of that Story from M. *Jolliet* himself, with whom I had often travell'd upon the River St. *Laurence*, I ask'd him whether he had been as far as the *Akansa's*? That Gentleman answer'd me, That the *Outtaouats* had often spoke to him of those Monsters; but that he had never gone farther than the *Hurons* and *Outtaouats*, with whom we had remain'd to exchange our *European* Commodities with their Furrs. He added, that the Savages had told him, that it was not safe to go down the River, because of the *Spaniards*. But notwithstanding this Report, I have found no-where upon that River any Mark, as Crosses, and the like, that could persuade me that the *Spaniards* had been there; and the Savages inhabiting the *Meschasipi* would not have expres'd such Admiration as they did when they saw us, if they had seen any *Europeans* before. I'll examine this Question more at large in my Second Volume.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLI.

A particular Account of the River Meſchaſipi; *Of the Country thro' which it flows; and of the Mines of Copper, Lead, and Coals we diſcover'd in our Voyage.*

FRom thirty Leagues below *Maroa*, down to the Sea, the Banks of the *Meſchaſipi* are full of Reeds or Canes; but we obſerv'd about forty places, where one may land with great facility. The River overflows its Banks now and then; but the Inundation is not very conſiderable, becauſe of the little Hills which ſtop its Waters. The Country beyond thoſe Hills is the fineſt that ever I ſaw, it being a Plain, whoſe Bounds I don't know, adorn'd now and then with ſome Hills and Eminences cover'd with fine Trees, making the rareſt Proſpect in the World. The Banks of the ſmall Rivers flowing through the Plain, are planted with Trees, which look as if they had been diſpoſed into that curious Order by the Art of Men; and they are plentifully ſtock'd with Fiſh, as well as the *Meſchaſipi*. The Crocodiles are very dangerous upon this great River, as I have already obſerv'd; and they devour a Man if they can ſurprize him; but 'tis eaſie to avoid them, for they don't ſwim after Men, nor follow them a-ſhoar.

The Country affords all ſorts of Game, as Turkey-Cocks, Partridges, Quails, Parrots, Wood-Cocks, Turtle-Doves, and Wood-Pidgeons; and abundance of wild Bulls, wild Goats, Stags, Beavers, Otters, Martins, and wild Cats: But as we approach'd nearer the Sea, we ſaw no Beavers. I deſign to give a particular Account of theſe Creatures in another place; in the mean time we ſhall take notice of two others, who are unknown in *Europe*.

I have

I have already mention'd a little Animal, like a Musk'd-Rat, that M. *la Salle* kill'd as we came from Fort *Miamis* to the *Illinois*, which deserves a particular Description. It looks like a Rat as to the Shape of its Body, but it is as big as a Cat: His Skin looks Silver-like, with some fair black Hair, which makes the Colour the more admirable. His Tail is without any Hair, as big as a Man's Finger, and about a Foot long, wherewith he hangs himself to the Boughs of Trees. That Creature has under the Belly a kind of a Bag, wherein they put their young ones when they are pursu'd; which is one of the most wonderful things of the World, and a clear Demonstration of the Providence and Goodness of the Almighty, who takes so particular a Care of the meanest of his Creatures.

There is no fierce Beast in all that Country that dares attack Men; for the *Mechibichi*, the most terrible of all, and who devours all other Beasts whatsoever, runs away upon the approach of a Savage. The Head of that Creature is very like that of the spotted Lynx, but somewhat bigger: his Body is long, and as large as a wild Goat, but his Legs are shorter; his Paws are like a Cat's-Foot; but the Claws are so long and strong, that no other Beast can resist them. When they have kill'd any Beast, they eat part of it, and carry the rest upon their Back, to hide it in the Woods; and I have been told that no other Beast dare meddle with it. Their Skin is much like that of a Lion, as well as their Tail; but their Head is much bigger.

The Savages gave us to understand that to the Westward of their Habitation, there are some Beasts who carry Men upon their Backs, and shew'd us the Hoof and part of the Leg of one, which was certainly the Hoof of a Horse; and surely Horses must not be utterly unknown in the Northern *America*: for then how cou'd the Savages have drawn upon

upon the Rock I have mention'd, the Figure of that Animal?

They have in that Country all ſorts of Trees we have in *Europe*, and a great many other unknown to us. There are the fineſt Cedars in the World; and another ſort of Tree, from which drops a moſt fragrant Gum, which in my opinion exceeds our beſt Perfumes. The Cotton-Trees are of a prodigious height; the Savages make them hollow with Fire, to make their *Pyrogues* of them; and we have ſeen ſome of them all of a-piece, above an hundred Foot long. The Oak is ſo good, that I believe it exceeds ours for building Ships. I have obſerv'd that Hemp grows naturally in that Country, and that they make Tarr and Pitch toward the Sea-Coaſts; and as I don't queſtion but that there are ſome Iron-Mines, the Building of Men of War wou'd be very cheap in the River *Meſchaſipi*.

I took notice in my Deſcription of *Louiſiana*, that there are vaſt Meadows, which need not to be grubb'd up, but are ready for the Plow and Seed; and certainly the Soil muſt be very fruitful, ſince Beans grow naturally, without any Culture. Their Stalks ſubſiſt ſeveral Years, bearing Fruit in the proper Seaſons: They are as big as one's Arm, and climb up the higheſt Trees, juſt as Ivy does. The Peach-Trees are like ours, and ſo fruitful, that they wou'd break if they were not ſupported. Their Foreſts are full of Mulberry-Trees and Plum-Trees, whoſe Fruit is be-musk'd. They have alſo plenty of Pomegranate-Trees and Cheſtnut-Trees: And 'tis obſervable, that all theſe Trees are cover'd with Vines, whoſe Grapes are very big and ſweet.

They have three or four Crops of *Indian* Corn in one Year; for they have no other Winter than ſome Rains. We had not time enough to look for Mines; but we found in ſeveral Places ſome Pit-Coal; and the Savages ſhew'd us great Mines of Lead and Copper.

per. They have also Quarries of Freestone; and of black, white, and Jasper-like Marble, of which they make their *Calumets*.

These Savages are good-natur'd Men, affable, civil, and obliging; but I design to make a particular Tract concerning their Manners, in my *Second Volume*. It seems they have no Sentiments of Religion; though one may judge from their Actions that they have a kind of Veneration for the Sun, which they acknowledge, as it seems, for the Maker and Preserver of all things.

When the *Nadoueſſians* and *Iſſati* take Tobacco, they look upon the Sun, which they call in their Language *Louis*; and as soon as they have lighted their Pipe, they present it to the Sun with these Words, *Tchendiouba Louis*, that is to say, *Smoak Sun*; which I took for a kind of Adoration. I was glad when I heard that this only *Deity* was call'd *Louis*, because it was also my Name. They call the Moon *Louis Baſatſche*, that is to say, *The Sun of the Night*; so that the Moon and Sun have the same Name, except that the Moon is distinguish'd by the Word *Baſatſche*.

They offer also to the Sun the best Part of the Beast they kill, which they carry to the Cabin of their Chief, who makes his Profit thereof, and mumbles some Words as it raises. They offer also the first Smoak of their *Calumets*, and then blow the Smoak towards the four Corners of the World. This is all I have observ'd concerning their Religion; which makes me believe that they have a religious Veneration for the Sun.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLII.

An Account of the various Languages of the Nations inhabiting the Banks of the Meſchaſipi ; *of their Submiſſion to their Chief ; of the Difference of their Manners from the Savages of* Canada ; *and of the Difficulties, or rather Impoſſibilities attending their Converſion.*

'TIS very ſtrange that every Nation of the Savages of the Northern *America* ſhould have a peculiar Language ; for though ſome of them live not ten Leagues one from another, they muſt uſe an Interpreter to talk together, there being no univerſal Language amongſt them ; as one may call the *Lingua Franca*, which is underſtood upon all the Coaſt of the *Mediterranean-Sea* ; or the *Latin* Tongue, common to all the Learned Men of *Europe*. However, thoſe who live ſo near one another, underſtand ſome Words us'd amongſt their Neighbours, but not well enough to treat together without an Interpreter ; and therefore they us'd to ſend one of their Men to each of their Allies, to learn their Language, and remain with them as their Reſident, and take Care of their Concerns.

Theſe Savages differ from thoſe of *Canada* both in their Manners, Cuſtoms, Temper, Inclinations, and even in the Shape of their Heads ; thoſe of the *Meſchaſipi* having their Heads very flat. They have large Places in their Villages, where they meet together upon any publick Rejoycings ; and where they have publick Games at certain Seaſons of the Year. They are lively and active, having nothing of that Moroſity and Penſiveneſs of the *Iroqueſe* and others. Their Chiefs have a more abſolute Authority than thoſe of the other Savages, which Power is very narrow ; and thoſe who live the neareſt to the Mouth of the River, have ſuch a Deference for their Chief,

Chief, that they dare not pass between him and a Flambeau, which is always carry'd before him in all Ceremonies. These Chiefs have Servants and Officers to wait upon them: They distribute Rewards and Presents as they think fit. In short, they have amongst them a Form of Political Government; and I must own they make a tolerable use of their Reason.

They were altogether ignorant of Fire-Arms, and all other Instruments and Tools of Iron and Steel, their Knives and Axes being made of Flint, and other sharp Stones: And whereas we were told that the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico* liv'd not above forty Leagues from them, and supply'd them with all the Tools, and other Commodities of *Europe*; we found nothing among them that might be suspected to come from the *Europeans*, unless it be some little pieces of Glass strung upon a Thread, with which their Women use to adorn their Heads. They wear Bracelets and Ear-Rings of fine Pearls, which they spoil, having nothing to boar them with, but with Fire. They made us to understand that they have them in exchange for their *Calumets*, from some Nations inhabiting the Coast of the great Lake to the South-ward, which I take to be the *Gulph of Florida*.

I'll say nothing here, or at least very little, concerning their Conversion, reserving to discourse fully upon that Subject, in another *Volume*, wherein I promise my self to undeceive many People about the false Opinions they entertain on this Matter. Wherever the Apostles appear'd, they converted so great a number of People, that the Gospel was known and believ'd in a short time, thro' most part of the then known World. But our Modern Missions are not attended with that Grace and Power, and therefore we are not to expect those miraculous Conversions. I have imparted to them, as well as I cou'd, the chief and general Truths of the *Christian Religion*: But, as

I have

I have obſerv'd already, the Languages of thoſe Nations having little or no Affinity one with another, I cannot ſay that my Endeavours have been very ſucceſsful, tho' I learn'd the Language of the *Iſſati* or *Nadouſſians*, and underſtood indifferently well that of the *Illinois*: But the Truths of Chriſtianity are ſo ſublime, that I fear, neither my Words nor Signs and Actions have been able to give them an Idea of what I preach'd unto them. GOD alone, who knows the Hearts of Men, knows alſo what Succeſs my Endeavours have had. The Baptiſm I have adminiſter'd to ſeveral Children, of whoſe Death I was morally aſſur'd, is the only certain Fruit of my Miſſion. But after all, I have only diſcover'd the Way for other Miſſionaries, and ſhall be ready at all times to return thither, thinking my ſelf very happy if I can ſpend the reſt of my Days in endeavouring my own and other Mens Salvation; and eſpecially in favour of thoſe poor Nations, who have been hitherto ignorant of their Creator and Redeemer. But leſt I ſhou'd tire the Reader, I reaſſume the Thread of my Diſcourſe.

CHAP. XLIII.

An Account of the Fiſhery of the Sturgeons; and of the Courſe we took, for fear of meeting ſome of our Men from Fort Crevecœur.

WE embarqu'd the Twenty fourth of *April*, as I have already ſaid; and our Proviſions being ſpent ſome Days after, we had nothing to live upon, but the Game we kill'd, or the Fiſh we cou'd catch. Stags, wild Goats, and even wild Bulls are pretty ſcarce toward the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*; for this Nation comes as far as the *Meſchaſipi* to hunt them; but by good chance we found a great quantity

tity of Sturgeons, with *long Bills*, as we call'd them, from the shape of their Head. It was then the Season that these Fishes spawn; and they come as near the Shore as they can; so that we kill'd as many as we wou'd with our Axes and Swords, without spending our Powder and Shot. They were so numerous, that we took nothing but the Belly, and other dainty Parts, throwing off the rest.

As we came near the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, my Men begun to be very afraid to meet with their Comrades of Fort *Crevecœur*; for having not yet exchang'd their Commodities, as they were order'd, and refus'd to go Northward at first, as I desir'd them, they had great reason to fear that they wou'd stop them, and punish them for not having follow'd my Directions. I was likewise afraid that by these Means our Voyage towards the Sea wou'd be discover'd, (there being some Reasons to keep it secret, as I shall observe in another place) and our farther Discovery stopt; and therefore to prevent any such thing, I advis'd them to row all the Night, and to rest our selves during the Day in the Islands, which are so numerous in that River. The Trees and Vines wherewith those Islands are cover'd, are so thick, that one can hardly land; and so we might lie there very safe, it being impossible to discover us. This Advice was approv'd, and thereby we avoided any Rencounter; for I did not doubt but our Men came now and then from Fort *Crevecœur*, to observe the *Meschasipi*, and get Intelligence of us. But when we found our selves pretty far from the River of the *Illinois*, we travell'd in the Day-time, as we used to do, in order to make our Observations, and view the Country; which does not appear so fertil, nor cover'd with so fine Trees above the River of the *Illinois*, as it is below, down the *Meschasipi* to the Sea.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIV.

A ſhort Account of the Rivers that fall into the Meſchaſipi; *of the Lake of Tears; of the Fall of* St. Anthony; *of the wild Oats of that Country; and ſeveral other Circumſtances of our Voyage.*

NO Rivers, as I have already ſaid, run into the *Meſchaſipi* between the River of the *Illinois* and the Fall of St. *Anthony*, from the Weſtward, but the River *Ottenta*, and another which diſcharges it ſelf into it within eight Leagues of the ſaid Fall: But on the Eaſtward we met with a pretty large River, call'd *Ouiſconſin*, or *Miſconſin*, which comes from the Northward. This River is near as large as that of the *Illinois*; but I cannot give an exact Account of the length of its Courſe, for we left it about ſixty Leagues from its Mouth, to make a *Portage* into another River, which runs into the Bay of *Puans*, as I ſhall obſerve when I come to ſpeak of our return from *Iſſati* into *Canada*. This River *Ouiſconſin* runs into the *Meſchaſipi* about an hundred Leagues above that of the *Illinois*.

Within five and twenty Leagues after, we met another River coming from the Eaſtward, nam'd by the *Iſſati* and *Nadouſſians*, *Chebadeba*, that is, *The Black River*. I can ſay very little of it, having obſerv'd only its Mouth; but I judge from that, that it is not very conſiderable. About thirty Leagues higher we found the Lake of *Tears*, which we nam'd ſo, becauſe the Savages, who took us, as it will be hereafter related, conſulted in this Place what they ſhould do with their Priſoners; and thoſe who were for murthering us, cry'd all the Night upon us, to oblige, by their Tears, their Companions to conſent to our Death. This Lake is form'd by the *Meſchaſipi*, and may be

seven Leagues long, and five broad. Its Waters are almost stagnant, the Stream being hardly perceptible in the middle. We met, within a League above the Lake, another River, call'd, *The River of the Wild Bulls*, because of the great number of those Beasts grazing upon its Banks. It falls with a great rapidity into the *Meschasipi*; but some Leagues above its Mouth, the Stream is very gentle and moderate. There is an infinite number of large Tortoises in that River, which are very relishing. A Row of Mountains fence its Banks in some places.

There is another River, which falls forty Leagues above this last, into the *Meschasipi*; thro' which one may go into the Upper Lake, by making a *Portage* from it into the River *Nissipikouet*, which runs into the same Lake. It is full of Rocks and rapid Streams. We nam'd it *The River of the Grave*, or *Mausolæum*, because the Savages bury'd there one of their Men, who was bitten by a Rattle-Snake. They us'd great Ceremonies in his Funeral, which I shall describe in another place; and I put upon his Corps a white Covering; for which the Savages return'd me their publick Thanks, and made a great Feast, to which above an hundred Men were invited.

The Navigation of the *Meschasipi* is interrupted ten Leagues above this River of the *Grave*, by a Fall of fifty or sixty Foot, which we call'd *The Fall of St. Anthony of Padua*, whom we had taken for the Protector of our Discovery. There is a Rock of a Pyramidal Figure, just in the middle of the Fall of the River.

The Row of Mountains fencing the Banks of the *Meschasipi*, ends at the Mouth of the River of *Ouisconsin*; and there we likewise obsery'd, that that River, which runs from thence to the Sea almost directly North and South, runs then from the Westward or the North-West. The Misfortune we had of being taken Prisoners, hindred us from going as far as its Source,

Source, which we cou'd never learn from the Savages, who told us only, that about twenty or thirty Leagues above the Fall of St. *Anthony*, there is another Fall; near which a Nation of Savages inhabit at certain Seasons of the Year. They call those Nations *Tintonha*, that is, *The Inhabitants of the Meadows.*

Eight Leagues above the Fall of St. *Anthony*, we met with the River of the *Issati* or *Nadoussians*, which is very narrow at the Mouth. It comes out from the Lake of the *Issati*, lying about seventy Leagues from its Mouth. We call'd this River *The River of St. Francis*; and it was in this Place that we were made Slaves by the *Issati*.

The Course of the *Meschasipi*, according to our best Computation, is about Eight hundred Leagues long, from *Tintonha* to the Sea, including its Windings and Turnings; which are very great, and may be navigable from the Fall of St. *Anthony*, for flat-bottom'd Boats, provided the Islands were clear'd from Trees, and especially from Vines; which having ty'd the Trees together, wou'd stop a Boat in many Places.

The Country about the Lake *Issati* is a Marshy Ground, wherein grows abundance of wild Oats, which grow without any Culture or Sowing, in Lakes, provided they are not above three Foot deep. That Corn is somewhat like our Oats, but much better; and its Stalks are a great deal longer when it is ripe. The Savages gather it, and live thereupon several Months of the Year, making a kind of Broath thereof. The Savage Women are oblig'd to tie several Stalks together with White Bark of Trees, to fright away the Ducks, Teals, or Swans, which otherwise wou'd spoil it before it be ripe.

This Lake of *Issati* lies within sixty Leagues to the Westward of the Upper Lake; but 'tis impossible to travel by Land from one to the other, unless it be in

a hard Frost, because of the Marshy Grounds, which otherwise sink under a Man; but, as I have already said, they may use their Canoes, tho' it be very troublesom, because of the many *Portages*, and the length of the Way, which, by Reason of the Windings of the River, is about a hundred and fifty Leagues. The shortest way is by the River of the *Grave*, thro' which we went in our return. We found nothing but the Bones of the Savage we had bury'd there, the Bears having pull'd out with their Paws the great Stakes the Savages had beat deep into the Ground round about the Corps; which is their usual Way of Burying their Dead. We found near the Grave a *Calumet* or Pipe of War, and a Pot, in which the Savages had left some fat Meat of Wild Bulls, for the Use of their dead Friend, during his Voyage into the Country of *Souls*; which sheweth that they believe their Immortality.

There are many other Lakes near the River *Issati*, from which several Rivers spring. The Banks of those Rivers are inhabited by the *Issati*, the *Nadoussians*, the *Tintonha* or *Inhabitants of Meadows*, the *Ouadebathon* or *Men of Rivers*, the *Chongasketon* or *Nation of the Wolf* or *the Dog*, for *Chonga* signifies either of these Creatures. There are also several other Nations, which we include under the general Denomination of *Nadoussians*. These Savages may bring into the Field eight or nine thousand Men: They are Brave, Bold, great Runners, and good Marksmen with their Arrows. It was a Party of these Savages that took us Prisoners, and carry'd us to the *Issati*, as I am going to relate in the following Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLV.

The Author and his Canou-Men are taken by the Savages, who, after ſeveral Attempts upon their Lives, carry them away with them into their Country above the River Meſchaſipi.

WE uſed to go to Prayers thrice a Day, as I have elſewhere obſerv'd; and my conſtant Requeſt to God was, That when we ſhou'd firſt meet the Savages, it might happen to be by Day. Their Cuſtom is, to kill as Enemies all they meet by Night, to enrich themſelves with their Spoils, which are nothing but a parcel of Hatchets, Knives, and ſuch like Trifles; which yet they value more than we do Gold or Silver. They make no ſcruple to aſſaſſinate even their own Allies, when they think they can handſomly conceal the Murder; for by ſuch Exploits it is they hope to gain the Reputation of being great Soldiers, and to paſs for Men of Courage and Reſolution.

'Twas with a great deal of Satisfaction that we ſurvey'd the Pleaſures of the River *Meſchaſipi*, all along our Paſſage up it, which had been ſince the firſt of *April*. Nothing as yet had interrupted our Obſervations, whether it were navigable above or below. In our way we kill'd ſeven or eight Buſtards or Wild Turkeys, which in theſe Countries encreaſe mightily, as well as all other Wild Creatures. We had alſo plenty of Bulls, Deers, Caſtors, Fiſh, and Bears Fleſh; which laſt we kill'd as they were ſwimming over the River.

And here I cannot forbear ſeriouſly reflecting on that ſecret Pleaſure and Satisfaction of Mind, which is to be found in Prayer, and the real Advantages which may be drawn from thence, when I conſider how

effectually my own were heard: For the same Day, being the Twelfth of *April*, as our two Men were boiling one of the Bustards, and my self refitting our Canou on the Banks of the River, I perceiv'd all of a sudden, about Two in the Afternoon, no less than fifty Canou's, which were made of Bark, and mann'd with a hundred and twenty Savages, who were stark naked, and came down the River with an extraordinary Swiftness, to surprize the *Miami's*, *Illinois*, and *Marchans*, their Enemies.

We threw away the Broath which was a preparing, and getting aboard as fast as we cou'd, made towards them, crying out thrice, *Mistigouche* and *Diatchez*, which in the Language of the *Iroquese* and *Algonquins*, is as much as to say, *Comrades, we are Men of Wooden Canou's*; for so they call those that sail in great Vessels. This had no effect, for the Barbarians understood not what we said; so that they surrounded us immediately, and began to let fly their Arrows at a distance, till the Eldest amongst them perceiving that I had a *Calumet* or Pipe of Peace in my hand, came up to us, and prevented our being murdered by their Warriours.

These Men who are more brutal than those of the lower River, fell a jumping out of their Canou's, some upon Land, others into the Water; surrounding us on all Sides with Shrieks and Out-cries that were indeed very terrifying. 'Twas to no purpose to resist, being but three to so great a number. One of them snatch'd the Pipe of Peace out of my Hand, as our Canou and theirs were fastned together on the Bank of the River. We presented them with some small Pieces of *Martinico* Tobacco, because it was better than what they had. As they receiv'd it, the Elders of them cry'd out *Miahima*, *Miahima*; but what they meant by it, we knew not. However, we made Signs with our Oars upon the Sand, that the *Miami's* their Enemies, whom they were in search of, had

pass'd

pass'd the River, and were upon their Flight to join the *Illinois*.

When they saw themselves discover'd, and consequently out of all hopes of surprizing their Enemies, three or four of the eldest of them laid their hands on my Head, and began to weep bitterly, accompanying their Tears with such mournful Accents as can hardly be express'd; till with a sorry Handkerchief of *Armenian* Cloth, which I had left, I made a Shift to dry up their Tears: However, to very little purpose; for refusing to smoak in our *Calumet* or Pipe of Peace, they thereby gave us to understand, that their design was still to murder us. Hereupon with an horrid Out-cry, which they set up all at once, to make it yet the more terrible, they hurry'd us cross the River, forcing us to redouble the Stroaks of our Oar, to make the more speed; and entertaining us all the while with such dismal Howlings, as were capable of striking Terrour into the most resolute and daring Souls. Being come a-shoar on the other side, we unloaded our Canou, and landed our Things, part of which they had robb'd us of already. Some time after our Landing, we made a fire a second time, to make an end of boiling our Bustard. Two others we presented the Barbarians, who having consulted together what they should do with us, two of their Leaders came up to us, and made us to understand by Signs, that their Warriours were resolv'd upon our Death. This oblig'd me, whilst one of our Canou-Men look'd after our Things, to go with the other, and apply my self to to their Chiefs. Six Hatchets, fifteen Knives, some pieces of Tobacco, was the Present that I made them. After which, bending my Neck, and pointing to a Hatchet, I signifi'd to them by that Submission, that we threw our selves on their Mercy.

The Present had the good effect to soften some of them, who, according to their Custom, gave us

some Flesh of Beaver to eat, themselves putting the three first Bits in our Mouths; having first blown upon it, because the Meat was hot. After this they set their Platter before us, which was made of the Bark of a Tree, leaving us at liberty to feed after our own fashion. These Civilities did not hinder us from passing the Night very uneasily, because in the Evening before they went to sleep, they had return'd us our *Calumet* of Peace. The two Canou-Men resolv'd to sell their Lives as dear as they could, and to defend themselves like Men to the last, in case they shou'd attack us. For my part, I told them I resolv'd to suffer my self to be slain without the least Resistance, in Imitation of our Saviour, who resign'd himself up voluntarily into the hand of his Executioner. However, we watch'd all Night by turns, that we might not be surpriz'd in our Sleep.

CHAP. XLVI.

The Resolution which the Barbarians took to carry the Author and his two Men along with them up into their Country, above the River Meschasipi.

THE 13th of *April*, very early in the Morning, one of their Captains, whose Name was *Narbetoba*, being one of those who had been for killing us, and whose Body was painted all over, came and demanded my Pipe of Peace. It being deliver'd him, he fill'd it with Tobacco of their own growth, and made those of his own Band smoak in it first; then all the rest that had been for putting us to death. After this he made Signs, that we must go with them into their Country, whither they were then about to return. This Proposal did not startle me much, for having caus'd the Enterprize which they had fram'd

fram'd againſt their Enemies to miſcarry, I was not unwilling to embrace any opportunity of making farther Diſcoveries amongſt theſe barbarous Nations.

That which perplex'd me moſt, was the Difficulty I had of ſaying my Office, and performing the reſt of my Devotions, in the preſence of theſe Wretches. Many of them obſerving my Lips to move, told me in a harſh and ſevere Tone, *Ouackanche*; from whence, becauſe we underſtood not a word of their Languge, we concluded them to be very angry. *Michael Ako*, one of the Canou-Men, told me with a frightful Air, that if I continu'd to ſay my Breviary, we ſhould infallibly be murther'd by them. *Picard du Gay* deſir'd me at leaſt to ſay my Prayers in private, for fear of enraging them too far. The laſt Advice ſeem'd the beſt; but the more I endeavour'd to conceal my ſelf, the more of them had I at my Heels. If at any time I retir'd into the Woods, they immediately concluded 'twas to hide ſomething: So that I knew not which way to turn me for the performance of my Duty; for they would never ſuffer me a moment out of their Sight.

This compell'd me at laſt to acquaint the two Canou-Men, that I cou'd no longer diſpenſe with my ſelf in omitting the Duty of my Office: That if they ſhou'd murder us on this Account, I ſhou'd indeed be the innocent Cauſe of their Death as well as my own; that therefore I ran the ſame Riſque as they, but that no Danger was great enough to juſtifie me in the diſpenſing with my Duty. In fine, the Barbarians underſtood by the Word *Ouackanche*, that the Book in which I read, was an evil Spirit, as I afterwards underſtood by being amongſt them. However, I then knew by their Geſtures, that they had an averſion for it. Wherefore to uſe them to it by degrees, I was wont to ſing the Litanies, as we were upon the Way, holding the Book in my Hand. They

fondly

fondly believ'd my Breviary was a Spirit, which taught me to sing thus for their Diversion. All these People naturally love Singing.

CHAP. XLVII.

The many Outrages done us by the Savages, before we arriv'd in their Country. They frequently design against our Lives.

THE many Outrages which were done us by these Barbarians, through the whole Course of our Voyage, are not to be imagin'd. Our Canou was both bigger and heavier laden than theirs. They seldom carry any thing but a Quiver full of Arrows, a Bow, and some sorry Skin or other, which usually serves two of them for a Coverlet. The Nights were sharp as yet for the Season, by reason of our advancing still Northwards; so that at Night 'twas necessary to keep our selves as warm as we could.

Our Conductors observing that we did not make so much way as themselves, order'd three of their Warriours to go aboard us. One seated himself on my Left, the other two behind the Men, to help them to row, that we might make the more haste. The Barbarians sometimes row no less than thirty Leagues a day, when they are in haste to take the Field, and design to surprize their Enemies. Those who took us were of divers Villages, and as much divided in their Sentiments, in regard of us. Every Evening 'twas our peculiar Care to plant our Cabin near the young Chief, who had taken Tobacco in our Pipe of Peace; signifying to him thereby, that we put our selves under his Protection.

This we did, by reason of the Divisions which reign'd amongst the Savages. *Aquipaguetin*, one of their Chiefs, who had a Son kill'd by the *Miami's*, finding

finding he could not revenge himself of that Nation, thought of venting his Passion upon us. Every Night would he bewail his Son, whom he had lost in the War, thinking thereby to stir up those of his Band to revenge his Death, by killing us, seizing our Effects, and after that pursuing the *Miami's*. But the other Savages, who were very fond of *European* Commodities, thought it more advisable to protect us, that other *Europeans* might be encourag'd to come amongst them. They chiefly desir'd Guns, upon which they set the highest Value, having seen the use of them upon one of our Canou-Men's killing three or four Bustards or wild Turkies, at one single Discharge of his Fusil; whereas they could not kill above one at a time with their Bows.

We have understood by them since, that the Words *Manza Ouackanche* signifie *Iron possess'd by an Evil Spirit*. So they call the Fusil, which breaks a Man's Bones; whereas their Arrows glide only between the Flesh and the Muscles, which they pierce without breaking the Bone at all, or very seldom at least. For which reason it is, that these People do much easier cure the Wounds which are made by the Arrow or Dart, than those of the Fusil.

When we were first taken by the Barbarians, we were got about an hundred and fifty Leagues up the River, from that of the *Illinois*. We row'd afterwards in their Company for nineteen Days together, sometimes North, sometimes North-East, as we judg'd by the Quarters from whence the Wind blew, and according to the best Observations we cou'd make by our Compass. So that after these Barbarians had forc'd us to follow them, we made more than two hundred and fifty Leagues upon that same River. The Savages are of an extraordinary Force in a Canou. They'll row from Morning to Night without resting, or hardly allowing themselves so much time as to eat their Victuals.

To

To oblige us to follow them the faster, there were usually four or five of their Men a-board us; for our Canou was larger, and deeper loaden than theirs, so that we had need of their Assistance, to be able to keep 'em company. When it rain'd, we set up our Tilts; but when 'twas fair, the Heavens were our Canopy. By this means we had leisure to take our Observations from the Moon and the Stars when it was clear. Notwithstanding the fatigue of the Day, the youngest of the Warriours went at Night and danc'd the *Reed* before four or five of their Captains till Midnight. The Captain to whose Quarter they went, sent with a deal of Ceremony to those that danc'd, a Warriour of his own Family, to make them smoak one after another in his own *Reed* of War, which is distinguish'd from that of Peace by its Feathers.

This sort of Ceremony is always concluded by the two Youngest of those who have had any Relations kill'd in the Wars. These take several Arrows, and laying them a-cross at the point, present them in that manner to their Captains, weeping very bitterly; who, notwithstanding the excess of their Sorrow, return them back to be kiss'd. In short, neither the Fatigues of the Day, nor Watchings, are sufficient to prevail with the Elders so much as to shut their Eyes, most of them watching till almost Break of Day, for fear of being surpriz'd by their Enemies. As soon as the Morning appears, one of them sets up the ordinary Cry, when in a moment the Warriours are all in their Canou's. Some are sent to encompass the Islands, and to see what Game they can meet with; whilst others that are more swift, go by Land to discover by the Smoak the Place where the Enemies lie.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVIII.

The Advantages which the Savages of the North have over those of the South, in relation to the War: As also the Ceremony which was perform'd by one of our Captains, having caus'd us to halt at Noon.

WHen the Savages of the North are at War, 'tis their Custom to post themselves upon the point of some one of those many Islands, of which this River is full, where they look upon themselves to be always safe. Those of the South, who are their Enemies, having nothing but *Pyrogues*, or Canou's of Wood, with which they cannot go very fast, because of their weight. None but the Northern Nations have Birch to make Canou's of their Bark. The People of the South are depriv'd of this Advantage, whereas those of the North can with an admirable facility pass from Lake to Lake, and River to River, to attack their Enemy. Nay, when they are discover'd, they value it not, provided they have time to recover their Canou's; for 'tis impossible for those who pursue them either by Land, or in the *Pyrogues*, to do it with any Success.

As to what relates to Ambuscades, no Nation in the World comes near those Northern Savages, being patient of Hunger, and the utmost Severities of the Weather, beyond belief. 'Tis their sure Game; and they never fail being succour'd by three or four of their Comrades, whenever their Enemies attack 'em. So that they always bring their Designs about this way, at least, if not over power'd so by Numbers, as not to be able to recover their Canou's, and save themselves by flight.

One of the nineteen Days of our most tiresome Voyage, a Captain call'd *Aquipaguetin*, who afterwards

wards adopted me for his Son, as we shall see anon, thought it advisable to halt about Noon in a fine large Meadow, situate on the West of the River *Meschasipi*. This Chief had kill'd a large fat Bear, to which he invited the principal Captains of the Warriours. After the Repast, these Savages having all of them certain Marks in the Face, and their Bodies painted with the Figure of some Beast, such as every one fancy'd best, their Hair being also anointed with the Oil of Bears, and stuck all over with red and white Feathers, and their Heads cover'd with the Down of Birds, began to dance with their Hands all upon their Hip, and striking the Soles of their Feet with that violence against the Earth, that the very Marks appear'd. During the Dance, one of the Sons of the Master of the Ceremonies, made 'em all smoak in the Pipe of War, himself shedding abundance of Tears during the whole Action. And the Father, who marshall'd the whole melancholy Scene, accompany'd him with a Voice so lamentable and broken, with so many rising Sighs, as were capable of melting the most obdurate Heart, bathing himself all the while in his Tears: Sometimes would he address himself to the Warriour, sometimes to me, laying his Hands on my Head, as he did also on my Mens. Sometimes would he lift up his Eyes to Heaven, repeating the Word *Louis*, which in their Speech signifies the Sun, appealing to him for Justice on the Murderers of his Son, and hoping to engage his Followers to avenge his Death.

As for us, as far as we could judge, all this Grimace boded us no good: And indeed we afterwards understood, that this Barbarian meant nothing less than our Destruction by it, as well now as at other times. But finding the opposition he was like to meet with from the other Chiefs, who were of a contrary Opinion, he was content to suffer us to re-embark, resolving however to make use of some o-

ther

ther Stratagem to get into his own Hands by little and little the reſt of our Things. To take them from us openly by force, tho' he eaſily could, he durſt not, for fear of thoſe of his own Nation, who for ſuch an Action would have accus'd him of a Baſeneſs of Spirit, which even the moſt barbarous diſdain.

CHAP. XLIX.

What Tricks and Artifices were us'd by Aquipaguetin *to cheat us handſomely of our Goods; with many other Accidents that hapned in our Voyage.*

BY what has been ſaid, it plainly appears that *Aquipaguetin* was a crafty deſigning Knave. He had with him the Bones of one of his deceas'd Friends, which he kept very choicely in the Skin of a Beaſt, adorn'd with ſeveral red and black Liſts of a Porcupine's. He would be from time to time aſſembling his Followers to make them ſmoak; and then would he ſend for us one after another, and oblige us to cover the Bones of their Deceas'd with ſome of our *European* Merchandiſe, in order to dry up the Tears which he had ſhed for him and his Son, who had been kill'd by the *Miami's*.

To appeaſe the crafty old Savage, we ſtrew'd on the Bones of the Deceas'd ſeveral Pieces of *Martinico*-Tobacco, Hatchets, Knives, Beads, and ſome Bracelets of black and white Porcelain. Thus you ſee how we were drain'd by ſuch Methods and Pretences, as we could not eaſily gainſay. He gave us to underſtand, That what he had thus demanded of us, was not for himſelf but the Dead, and to give the Warriours that he brought with him; and indeed he diſtributed amongſt them whatever he took from us. He would have had us underſtood by this, That

as

as a Captain he would take nothing himself but what we should freely present him with.

All this while we lay at the point of the *Lake of Tears*; we nam'd it so by reason of the Tears which this Chief did shed here every Night. When he was weary of Weeping, he made one of his Sons come and supply his Place. His Design in this was to excite the Compassion of the Warriors, and to prevail with them to kill us, and after that to pursue their Enemies; and so revenge the Death of his Son which he had lost.

Sometimes they sent the swiftest amongst them by Land to seek for prey, who would drive whole Droves of wild Bulls before them, and force them to swim the River. Of these they sometimes kill'd forty or fifty, but took only the Tongues, and some other of the best Pieces: The rest they left, not to burden themselves, that they might make the more haste home.

'Tis true, we had Provisions plenty and good; but then we had neither Bread nor Wine, nor Salt, nor indeed any thing else to season it; and this lasted during the Four last Years of the almost Twelve that I liv'd in *America*. In our last Voyage, we liv'd much after the same manner, sometimes abounding, and at other times again reduc'd to the last Extremity; so that we have not eat a bit for four and twenty hours together, and sometimes longer. The reason is, because in small Canou's of Bark, one can stow but little: So that whatever Precaution a Man may use, he will often find himself destitute of all things necessary for Life. Did the Religious of *Europe* undergo half the Fatigues, or did they but observe the Fasts that we have kept for so long a time together in *America*, there would need no Proofs to Canonize them. But then it must be own'd, that what destroys the Merits of our Fasts, was, that if we did suffer on such occasions, our Sufferings proceeded

not

nor from our Choice; but, as the proverbial Saying is, our Virtue was our Neceſſity.

CHAP. L.

The Elders weep for us during the Night. New Outrages done us by Aquipaguetin. *The manner how the Savages make Fire by Friction.*

MAny Nights together ſome or other of the Elders came and wept over us. They rubb'd our Arms and Bodies very often with their Hands, which they afterwards laid on our Heads. Theſe Tears gave us many uneaſie Thoughts; 'twas impoſſible to ſleep for them; and yet we had need enough of Reſt, after the great Fatigues of the Day. Nor was I eaſier by Day: I knew not what to think; ſometimes I fanſied that they bewail'd us, as knowing ſome of the Warriors had reſolv'd to kill us; and other times again I flatter'd my ſelf, that their Tears were the effect of their Compaſſion, for the evil Treatment they made us undergo. However it were, I am ſure theſe Tears affected me more than thoſe that ſhed them.

About this time, *Aquipaguetin* had another opportunity of perſecuting us afreſh: He had ſo dexterouſly manag'd the Matter with the Warriors of his Party, that it was one Day impracticable for us to encamp near the young Chief *Narhetoba*, who protected us, but were forc'd to go and place our ſelves, with our Canou and Effects at the end of the Camp. Then it was that theſe Barbarians gave us to underſtand, that the aforeſaid Captain was fully reſolv'd to have our Heads. This oblig'd us to have recourſe once more to our Cheſt, and to take out twenty Knives and ſome Tobacco, which we diſtributed a-

mong them with an Air that sufficiently testify'd our Discontent.

The unreasonable Wretch look'd earnestly upon his Followers one after another, as if he were in doubt what to do, and consequently to demand their Advice, whether he ought to receive our Present or refuse it. But whilst we were inclining our Necks, and delivering him the Ax, the young Commander, who seem'd to be our Protector (and it may be really was) came and snatch'd us by the Arm, and all in a rage hurry'd us away to his Cabin. His Brother too taking up some Arrows, broke 'em in our sight, to assure us by that Action, that he would protect our Lives at the hazard of his own.

The next Day they left us alone in our Canou, without putting any of their Men a-board to assist us, as they had hitherto done: However, they kept all in the reer of us. After rowing four or five Leagues, another of their Captains came up to us, and made us land. As soon as we got on shoar, he fell to cutting of Grass, which he made into three little Heaps, and bade us sit down upon them: Then he took a piece of Cedar, which was full of little round Holes, into one of which he thrust a Stick of a harder Substance than the Cedar, and began to rub it about pretty fast between the Palms of his Hands, till at length it took fire. The use he put it to was to light the Tobacco in his great Pipe; and after he had wept some time over us, and laid his Hands on our Heads, he made me smoak in a *Calumet*, or Pipe of Peace; and then acquainted us by Signs, that within sixteen Days we should be at home.

CHAP.

CHAP. LI.

Ceremonies us'd by the Savages when they ſhare their Priſoners. Continuation of our Journey by Land.

HAving thus travell'd nineteen Days in our Canou by Water, we arriv'd at length within five or ſix Leagues of the Fall, to which we had formerly given the Name of St. *Anthony*, as we came to underſtand afterwards. Here the Barbarians order'd us to land in a Creek of the River *Meſchaſipi*; after which, they held an Aſſembly, to conſult what they were to do with us. In ſhort, they ſeparated, and gave us to three of their Chiefs, inſtead of three of their Sons which had been kill'd in the War: Then they ſeiz'd our Canou, and took away all our Equipage. The Canou they pull'd to pieces, for fear it might aſſiſt us to return to their Enemies: Their own they hid amongſt the Alders, to uſe again when they ſhould have occaſion to hunt that way. So that tho' we might have gone conveniently enough quite up into their Country by Water, yet were we oblig'd, by their Conduct, to travel no leſs than ſixty Leagues a-foot.

Our ordinary Marches were from break of Day till ten at Night: And when we met with any Rivers, we ſwam them, themſelves (who for the Moſt part are of an extraordinary ſize) carrying our Clothes and Equipage on their Heads, and the Canou-Men, who were leſs than me, upon their Shoulders, becauſe they could not ſwim. As I us'd to come out of the Water, which was often full of Ice, for we travell'd ſtill North, I was hardly able to ſtand upon my Legs. In theſe Parts the Froſts continue all Night even at this time of the Year; ſo

that our Legs were all over Blood, being cut by the Ice, which we broke by degrees in our Passage as we waded o'er the Lakes and Rivers. We never eat but once in four and twenty Hours, and then nothing but a few Scraps of Meat dry'd in Smoak after their Fashion, which they afforded us with abundance of regret.

I was so weak that I often laid me down, resolving rather to die than follow these Savages any farther, who travell'd at a rate so extraordinary, as far surpasses the Strength of any *European*. However, to hasten us, they sometimes set fire to the dry Grass in the Meadows through which we pass'd; so that our Choice was march or burn. I had a Hat which I had taken with me, to fence me from the Sun during the Heats of the Summer. This would often fall from my Head into the Fire, because it was not over-fit, and the Fire so very near. The Barbarians would snatch it out again, and lend me a hand to save me from the Flames, which they had kindled, as well as to hasten our March, as I have said, as to give notice to their People of their return. I must here acknowledge, that had it not been for *du Gay*, who did all he could to encourage me, through the whole Course of this tiresome March, I had certainly sunk under the Fatigues of it, having neither Spirits nor Strength left to support me.

CHAP.

CHAP. LII.

A great Conteſt ariſes amongſt the Savages, about dividing our Merchandiſe and Equipage; as alſo my Sacerdotal Ornaments and little Cheſt.

AFter having travell'd about ſixty Leagues a-foot, and undergone all the Fatigues of Hunger, Thirſt, and Cold, beſides a thouſand Outrages daily done us in our Perſons, after we had march'd Night and Day without ceaſing, wading through Lakes and Rivers, and ſometimes ſwam. As we now began to approach the Habitations of the Barbarians, which are ſituated in Moraſſes inacceſſible to their Enemies, they thought it a proper time to divide the Merchandiſe which they had taken from us. Here they had like to have fallen out and cut one another's Throats, about the Roll of *Martinico*-Tobacco, which might ſtill weigh about fifty Pound. Theſe People value this Commodity far beyond what we do Silver or Gold. They have very good of their own growth; but this was ſo well dreſs'd, and made up into ſuch beautiful Rings, that they were perfectly charm'd with it. The moſt reaſonable amongſt them made us underſtand by Signs, that they would give their Canou-Men ſeveral Caſtor-Skins in return for what they had taken: But others looking upon us as Slaves, becauſe they ſaid we had furniſh'd Arms to their Enemies, maintain'd that they were no ways oblig'd to make any return for the Things they had taken.

The reaſon why they divided the Spoil here, was, becauſe this Band was compos'd of two or three different People: So that thoſe that liv'd at a diſtance, were apprehenſive leſt the others, who were juſt at home, might detain all the Merchandiſe which they

had taken, in the first Villages they should come at; and therefore were resolv'd to play a sure Game, and have their Share aforehand. Nor had they any greater Respect for what belong'd to me, than for the Merchandise which they took from the Canoumen; for they seiz'd my Brocard Chasuble, and all the Ornaments of my portable Chapel, except the Chalice, which they durst not touch. They observ'd that this Vessel, which was of Silver gilt, cast a glittering Light, so that as often as they chanc'd to look towards it, they would shut their Eyes: The reason was, as we understood afterwards, because they believ'd it to be a Spirit which would kill them. I had a little Chest, which I kept lock'd; they made me understand by Signs, that if I did not open it, or break the Lock, they would do it for me, against some sharp Stones which they shew'd me. The reason why they threatned me thus, was, because they had not been able to open it all the way, though they attempted it several times, to see what was in it. These People understand nothing of Locks and Keys: Besides, their Design was not to cumber themselves with the Box it self, but only to take out the Things that were in it. After I had open'd it, and they saw there was little or nothing in it but Books and Papers, they left it me untouch'd.

CHAP. LIII.

The Troop approaches the Village. A Grand Consult amongst the Savages, whether they should kill us, or save and adopt us for their Sons. The Reception which we had from them; and the use they made of my Chasuble.

AFter five hard Days travel, without so much as resting, except a little by Night in the open Air, we perceiv'd at last abundance of Women and Children

Children coming out to meet our little Army: All the Elders of the Nation were assembled upon this Occasion. We observ'd several Cabins, near the Posts of which lay several Trusses of Straw and dry'd Weeds, where these Barbarians are wont to fasten and burn the Slaves which they bring home with them from their Wars. Here they order'd *Picard du Gay* to sing, who all the time rattled a hollow Gourd full of little round Stones, which he held in his Hand. I observ'd moreover, that his Hair and Face were painted with different Colours, and that they had fastned a Tuft of white Feathers to his Head. These Ceremonies renew'd our Fears; and we thought we had more reason than ever to believe, that they had still a Design to put us to death. Nor were our Fears groundless, since these, with many others, are the Ceremonies which they use at the burning of their Enemies.

The worst was, we could not make our selves be understood. However, after many Vows and secret Prayers which we offer'd up to God on this Occasion, the Barbarians at last gave us some wild Oats to eat, of which I have spoken elsewhere. They gave them us in great Dishes made of Birch-trees; and the Savage Women season'd them with *Bluez*. This is a sort of Black Grain, which they dry in the Sun in the Summer, and are as good as Corrans: The *Dutch* call them *Clake-besien*.

All the while the Feast lasted, which was the best Meal that we had made ever since we had been taken, there was a high Dispute between *Aquipaguetin* and the others, about the Distribution they were to make of the two Canou-men and my self. At last *Aquipaguetin*, as Head of the Party, carry'd it; who turning from one of the principal Captains towards me, presented me to smoak in his *Calumet* of Peace, receiving from me at the same time that which we had brought, as a certain Pledge of the Union which

was to be for the future 'twixt them and us. After this, he adopted me for his Son, in the room of him that he had lost in the War.

Cnarhetoba and another Captain did the same by the two Canou-men. This Separation was very grievous to us, tho' somewhat allay'd by the Satisfaction we had to find that our Lives were safe. *Du Gay* took me aside to confess him, being sensible of the uncertain Condition his Life was in, amongst so barbarous a People. This oblig'd him to embrace me very heartily, and to beg my Pardon for what was past, having first made the same Request to God. I should have been overjoy'd to have seen *Michael Ako* as well dispos'd: However, I did not omit to shew both the one and the other all the Marks of a most tender Affection.

In short, the Savages having parted us, led us away each to his own Village. Our Way lay over a Morass, where we march'd half way the Leg in Water for a League together, at the end of which we were met by five of *Aquipaguetin*'s Wives, who receiv'd me in one of the three Canou's of Bark which they had brought with them, and then carry'd me a little League farther into a small Island, where their Cabins were.

CHAP. LIV.

The Author's Reception by the Relations of Aquipaguetin. *They make him sweat to recover him of his Fatigues. The use they make of his Chasuble and other* Ornaments.

I Arriv'd at this Place in the Month of *May*, 1680. the Day I cannot precisely tell; for I was so harass'd by the Savages on the Way, that I could not make all the little Observations which otherwise I would have done: Besides, there is some seven or

eight

eight Hours difference between the Days and Nights of *Europe*, and those of North-*America*, because of the Retrogradation of the Sun. The Cape was always to West of us from *Rochel* to *Quebec*; but to South-west from thence, till we came to *Meschasipi*, which made a considerable Variation in the Needle.

This Variation was occasion'd by the unconstant motion of the Needle, which in certain Latitudes would encline to the North, or North-East; whereas in others 'twould turn from the North to the North-west. We never could be so well assur'd of our Computations in our long Voyages, as to know exactly the way our Canou's made in a Day, or what was the Variation of the Needle in each Latitude. But we found there were many Minutes of Variation, according to the Point the Wind was in. To say the truth, able Men might have lost the Memory of many things under the same Circumstances with my self.

At the entry of the Captain's Cabin who had adopted me, one of the Barbarians, who seem'd to be very old, presented me with a great Pipe to smoak in, and weeping over me all the while with abundance of Tears, rubb'd both my Arms and my Head. This was to shew how concern'd he was to see me so harass'd and fatigu'd: And indeed I had often need enough of two Men to support me when I was up, or raise me when I was down. There was a Bears-Skin before the Fire, upon which the youngest Boy of the Cabin caus'd me to lie down, and then with the Grease of wild Cats anointed my Thighs, Legs, and Soles of my Feet.

Aquipaguetin's Son, who call'd me Brother, had got my Brocard Chasuble, and was strutting up and down with it upon his naked Back. He had wrapp'd up in it the Bones of a Man who had been very considerable amongst them, for whose Memory they had still a wonderful Respect. The Priest's Girdle, which

was

was made of red and white Wooll, with two Loops at the end, serv'd him to fasten it, whilst he carry'd it up and down in Triumph, calling it *Louis Chimen*, which signifies, as I since understand, the Robe of him, who is nam'd the *Sun*. After they had for some time us'd my Chasuble as an Ornament to cover the Bones of their Dead, at the celebrating their most solemn Rites, they made a Present of it to a People in Alliance with them, who liv'd 4 or 500 Leagues distant towards the West, but were come in Embassie, and had danc'd the *Calumet*.

The Day after my Arrival, *Aquipaguetin*, who was Head of a Great Family, put me on a Robe which was made of the Skins of the Bellies of wild Bulls: He gave me a second, made of ten large Castor-Skins. Then he shew'd me six or seven of his Wives, (for Poligamy is in fashion here;) he told them, as I afterwards understood, That they were to esteem me as one of their Sons. After this, he set a Bark-Dish before me, in which were Bremes, and other white Fish, to regale me withal. He gave Orders to those about him, to give me the Title that was due to the Rank which I was to hold amongst my new Kindred.

Farther; this new Father of mine observing that I could not well rise without two or three to help me, order'd a Stove to be made, into which he caus'd me to enter stark-naked with four Savages; who before they began to sweat, ty'd their *Prepuces* about with certain Strings made of the Bark of a white Wood. This Stove was cover'd with the Skins of wild Bulls, and in it they put Flints and other Stones red-hot. They order'd me by Signs to hold my Breath, time after time, as long as I could, which I did, as well as those that were with me. As for the Privy Parts, I had only a Handkerchief to cover me.

As

As soon as the Savages that were with me had let go their Breath, which they did with a great force, *Aquipaguetin* began to sing with a loud and thundring Voice; the others seconded him; and laying their Hands on my Body, began to rub it, and at the same time to weep bitterly. I was like to fall into a Swoon, and so was forc'd to quit the Stove. At my coming out, I was scarce able to take up my Habit of St. *Francis* to cover me withal, I was so weak: However, they continu'd to make me sweat thrice a Week, which at last restor'd me to my pristine Vigour, so that I found my self as well as ever.

CHAP. LV.

The Author like to be famish'd. They admire his Compass, and an Iron Pot which he had. He makes a Dictionary, and instructs them in Points of Religion, in relation to Poligamy and Celibacy.

MAny a melancholy Day did I pass amongst these Savages. *Aquipaguetin*, who adopted me, gave me nothing to eat but a few wild Oats five or six times a Week, and the Roes of dry'd Fish. All this Trash the Women boil'd up in an Earthen Pot: Besides, he sent me into a Neighbouring Isle, with his Wives, Children, and Servants, where I was to hough and dig with a Pick-axe and Shovel, which I had recover'd from those that robb'd us. Here we planted Tobacco, and some *European* Pulse, which I brought from thence, and were highly priz'd by *Aquipaguetin*.

This Man, to make himself the more considerable amongst those of his Tribe, would often assemble the Ancients of his Village, and in presence of them, send for my Compass, which I had still by me. Upon my turning the Needle with a Key, he took occasion

casion to tell them, and with Truth enough, That by the Guidance of that Machine it was, that we *Europeans* travell'd the whole World. Nay, being an able Spokesman, he possess'd them farther, That we were Spirits; and that we were capable of bringing things to pass that were altogether out of their power. At the end of his Discourse, which was very pathetick, all the Elders wept over me, admiring in me what they could not comprehend.

I had an Iron Pot about three foot round, which had the Figure of a Lion on it, which during our Voyage serv'd us to bake our Victuals in. This Vessel was not so apt to break as our ordinary Kettles, which are more brittle; for which reason it was, not being likely to meet with Braziers to furnish us with new upon occasion, that we took this with us. This Pot the Barbarians durst never so much as touch, without covering their Hands first in something of Castor-Skin. And so great a Terrour was it to the Women, that they had it hung abroad upon the Bough of a Tree; for they durst not come or sleep in the Cabin when it was there.

We would have made a Present of it to some of their Chiefs; but none of them would either accept or make use of it, because they thought that there was a Spirit hid within, that would certainly kill them. These People are all of them subject to the like Superstition. Their Jugglers impose whatever they think fit upon their Belief. 'Twas some time I spent amongst 'em, before I could make my self be understood. But Hunger beginning to press me hard, I set about making a Dictionary in their Tongue, the which I did by means of their Children, with whom I made my self as familiar as possible, to inform my self by their Prattle.

When once I had got the Word *Tahetchiaben*, which signifies in their Language, *How call you this?* I began to be soon able to talk of such things as are most

most familiar. This difficulty was hard to surmount at first, because there was no Interpreter that understood both Tongues. For Example; If I had a mind to know what *to run* was in their Tongue, I was forc'd to mend my pace, and indeed actually run from one end of the Cabin to t'other, till they understood what I meant, and had told me the Word; which I presently set down in my Dictionary. The Principal of them observing the great Inclination I had to learn their Language, would often tell me, *Vatchison ęgagahę, Spirit, thou takest a great deal of Pains. Put Black to White.* One day they told me the Names of all the Parts of a Man's Body. However, I forbore setting down several immodest Terms, which these People scruple not to use every foot. Observing it, they would often cry *ęgagahę, ęgagahę; Spirit, Spirit, set down that Word as well as the rest.*

Thus would they divert themselves with me, and often say to one another, *When we ask Father* Louis *any thing,* (for they had heard our Canou-Men call me so) *he does not answer us. But when he has lookt upon the White,* (for they have no word for Paper) *he then talks, and makes us understand his Thoughts. This White thing,* wou'd they add, *must needs be a Spirit, which teaches him to understand all we say.* Hence they concluded, that neither of the Canou-Men had so much Wit as my self, because they could not *work upon that which was White.* So that this Qualification in me, made them fondly imagine that I could do any thing else.

One day, seeing the Rain fall in such abundance, that they fear'd 'twould spoil their hunting, they order'd me to bid it cease. I told them, pointing with my Finger to the Clouds. *That He, who was the Great Captain of Heaven, was the sole Master of the Rain and Sunshine; That He was the Great Disposer of all the Events that happen to Mortals, or the Universe in general; That what they bid me do, depended not on me, but the First Mover, who had sent me thither, to teach them to acknowledge him for their Creatour and Redeemer.*

Observing

Observing me distinguish'd from the Canou-Men by my Habit, and having no Notion of *Celibacy*, they would often ask what Age I was, and what Wives and Children I had. Their way of reck'ning their Years is by Winters. These Wretches, void of Light and Instruction, were strangely surpriz'd at the Answer I made them. I told them, pointing to the two Canou-Men, whom I was come three Leagues to visit, *That with us, one Man might marry but one Wife, and that nothing cou'd separate him again from that One, but Death: That for my self, I had promis'd the Great Master of Life never to marry any; but to come and dwell amongst them, and instruct them in the Commands of the Great Master of Heaven and Earth, and to live poorly amongst them, far from my own Country, where all good Things did abound.*

'Tis true, says one of them, *here is little or no Hunting in these Parts, and thou suffer'st much: But have but patience till Summer, we shall then go into the hot Countries, where we shall kill Bulls enough, and then thou wilt make thy self sufficient amends for the time thou hast spent here.* I had been well content, had they let me eat as their Children did; but they hid the Victuals from me, and wou'd rise to eat in the Night, when I knew nothing of it. And although Women have usually more Compassion than Men, yet they kept the little Fish that they had, all for their Children. They consider'd me as a Slave whom their Warriours had taken in their Enemy's Country; and preferr'd the Lives of their Children before any Consideration they had for me; as indeed it was but reasonable they shou'd.

However, some of the Elders would come often, and mourn over me in a very doleful manner. One wou'd call me *Grandson*, another *Nephew*; and all would say to me, *I am strangely afflicted to see thee so long without eating, and to understand thou hast been so ill treated in thy Journey. Those were young Warriours without Courage, who wou'd have kill'd thee, and who robb'd thee of what*

thou

thou hadst. If thou wou'dst have had Robes of Castors, or wild Bulls, to dry thy Tears, we wou'd have given 'em thee; but thou wouldst accept of nothing we have presented thee.

CHAP. LVI.

The most considerable Captain of the Issati *and* Nadouessians *upbraid those that took us. The Author baptizes the Daughter of* Mameniſi.

Ouaſicoude, that is to say, *The Pierc'd Pine*, the wiſeſt and moſt conſiderable of all the Chiefs of the *Iſſati* and *Nadoueſſians*, made it publickly appear, that he was highly incens'd againſt the Warriors that had us'd us ſo very ill. He ſaid once in a full Council, That thoſe who had robb'd us of our Things, were to be compar'd to famiſh'd Dogs, which having ſtole a piece of Fleſh out of a Diſh, ſneak away with it when they have done: That they that had acted much after the ſame rate in regard of us, ought to be look'd upon as Dogs, who cou'd put ſuch unworthy Affronts upon Men, who brought them Iron, and other Merchandizes, which they had no knowledge of, though they were found to be ſo uſeful: That for Himſelf, he ſhou'd one day have an opportunity of being reveng'd on him, who had been Author of all our Sufferings. This Reprimand was worthy the Character of a Perſon of *Ouaſicoude*'s Authority: And the Generoſity of the Action redounded ſince to the Benefit of the whole Nation, as we ſhall ſee anon.

Going one day, as I often did, to viſit the Cabins, I found the Infant-Child of one call'd *Mameniſi*, very ſick. Having a little examin'd the Symptoms of its Diſtemper, I found the Child paſt hopes of Recovery. I deſir'd our two Canou-Men to give me their Opinions,

Opinions, telling them, I thought my self oblig'd in Conscience to baptize it. *Michael Ako* cou'd not be prevail'd with to enter the Cabin where the Infant lay. He said in excuse, That I could not forget what a Risque we had run once already, of being murder'd by the Savages through my Obstinacy, in persisting to say my Breviary; whence 'twas to be fear'd, that what I was now going to do, might expose us again to the same Danger.

The Wretch had rather comply with certain Superstitions of the Barbarians, than assist me in so pious a Design. Being follow'd then by none but *Picard du Gay*, who assisted as God-father, or rather Witness of the Baptism, I christen'd the Child, and nam'd it *Antonetta*, from St. *Anthony* of *Padua*; and the rather, because the said *Peter du Gay*'s Name was *Anthony Anguelle*, Native of *Amiens*, and Nephew of Monsieur *du Canroi*, Proctor-General of the *Premonstres*, and since Abbot of *Beaulieu*, to whom I presented him safe at our Return from *Canada*. But to proceed; for want of more proper Utensils, I took a wooden Dish, and having put some common ordinary Water into it, sprinkled it upon the Head of the little Savage, pronouncing the following Words, *Creature of God, I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* Then I took half my Altar-Cloth, which I had snatch'd out of the Hands of a Savage, who had stole it from me, and spread it o'er the Body of the Infant.

The Baptism was accompany'd with no other Ceremony, because I was no longer in a Condition to say Mass, my Sacerdotal Robes being all taken from me. I believ'd the Linen could not serve to a more proper End than a Winding-Sheet to the first Infant of the Country, that had the Happiness to be baptized. I know not how far its Pains might be asswag'd by Virtue of the Linen, or what Alterations it might feel. I am sure I saw it laughing the next Day in its

its Mother's Arms, who believ'd I had cur'd her Child. However it dy'd ſome time after, which affected me more with Joy than Grief.

Had this Child recover'd, 'twas much to be fear'd 'twou'd have trod in the Steps of its Fore-fathers, and been over-grown with their infamous Superſtitions, for want of a Preacher to inſtruct it. For indeed, if thoſe of its Nation dwelling in Darkneſs and Ignorance, *continue to ſin without Law, they ſhall alſo periſh without Law*, as we are told by the Apoſtle. Upon theſe Conſiderations I was glad it had pleas'd God to take this little Chriſtian out of the World, leſt it might have fall'n into Temptations, had it recover'd, which might have engag'd it in Errour and Superſtition. I have often attributed my Preſervation amidſt the greateſt Dangers which I have ſince run, to the Care I took for its Baptiſm.

CHAP. LVII.

An Embaſſy ſent to the Iſſati *by the Savages that inhabit to the Weſt of them. Whence it appears that there is no ſuch thing as the Streights of* Anian; *and that* Japan *is on the ſame Continent as* Louiſiana.

UNder the Reign of the Emperour *Charles* V. the Fathers Recluſe of our Order were the firſt that were ſent by his Command into *New-Mexico*; ſince which time there have been of them beyond the *Vermilian-Sea*. The moſt Remarkable Epoque of the Streights of *Anian*, commences from the time of that moſt excellent *Religious* of our Order, *Martin de Valencia*, who was the Firſt Biſhop of the great City of *Mexico*. We have ſpoke of him elſewhere.

In proceſs of time 'twas believ'd that the ſaid Streights were only imaginary: Many Perſons noted for great Learning, are of this Opinion; and to

evince the Truth of it, I will here subjoin one evident Proof, to those which are already produc'd by them: and it is this. During my stay amongst the *Issati* and *Nadoussians*, there arriv'd four Savages in Embassie to these People. They had come above five hundred Leagues from the West; and told us by the Interpreters of the *Issati*, that they were four Moons upon the Way; for so it is they call their Months. They added, that their Country was to the West, and that we lay to the East in respect of them; that they had march'd the whole time without resting, except to sleep, or kill Game for their Subsistence. They assur'd us there was no such thing as the Streights of *Anian*; and that in their whole Journey they had neither met with, nor passed over any *Great Lake*; by which Phrase they always mean the Sea, nor any Arm of it.

They farther inform'd us, that the Nation of the *Asseni-poulaes*, whose Lake is down in the Map, and who lie North-East of the *Issati*, was not above six or seven Days Journey from us: That none of the Nations within their Knowledge, who lie to the West and North-West of them, had any great Lake about their Countries, which were very large, but only Rivers, which coming from the North, run cross the Countries of their Neighbouring Nations, which border on their Confines on the side of the Great Lake, which in the Language of the Savages is the same as Sea: That Spirits, and Pigmies, or Men of little Stature, did inhabit there, as they had been inform'd by the People that liv'd farther up than themselves; and that all the Nations which lie beyond their Country, and those which are next to them, do dwell in Meadows and large Fields, where are many wild Bulls and Castors, which are greyer than those of the North, and have their Coat more inclining to Black; with many other wild Beasts, which yield very fine Furrs.

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The four Savages of the said Embassy assur'd us farther, that there were very few Forests in the Countries through which they pass'd in their way hither; insomuch that now and then they were so put to it for Fuel, that they were forc'd to make Fires of Bull's Dung, to boil their Victuals with in Earthen-Pots, which they make use of, as neither having, nor knowing of any better.

All these Circumstances which I have here inserted, make it appear, that there is no such thing as the Streights of *Anian*, as we usually see them set down in Maps. To assert the Truth of what I say, I here frankly offer my self to return into these Parts, with such Ships as His *Britannick Majesty*, or their *High and Mightinesses*, the *States General*, shall think fit to send thither, in order to a full Discovery; in which I have no other Aim but the Glory of God, the Propagation of the Gospel, Instruction of those blind and ignorant People, who have been neglected for so many Ages, Improvement of Trade, which, the better 'tis understood, the more will it daily encrease between the Subjects of the King of *Spain* my Master, and those of His *Britannick Majesty* and *States General*: And lastly, That Correspondence and Union so necessary to be maintain'd amongst them, that they may live and labour together for the Common Good. I declare, I have no other Design; that my Intentions are sincere and upright, and that my Desire is to be serviceable to all *Europe*; Respect being first had, as I am in Duty bound, to my Natural Prince, the King of *England*, and the *States*; to whom I am singularly engag'd, for the good Reception they were pleas'd to honour me with. Others perhaps would have us'd me ill, in return of all my Services, and the many dangerous Voyages I have made, with no other Design, but to contribute what in me lay, to the Glory of God, the Salvation of Souls, and the Good of all *Christendom*. I know

well what I say. But to return: Whatever Efforts have been made for many Years past, by the *English* and *Dutch*, the two Nations of the World, who are the greatest Navigators, to find out a Passage to *China* and *Japan*, thro' the Frozen-Sea, they have not as yet been able to effect it. But by the help of my Discovery, and the Assistance of God, I doubt not to let all *Europe* see that a Passage may still be found thither, and that an easie one too. For Example; One may be transported into the *Pacifick-Sea* by Rivers, which are large, and capable of carrying great Vessels, and from thence 'tis easie to go to *China* and *Japan*, without crossing the Equinoctial Line. Those that read my Relation, and will never so little examine the *Maps* which are annext to it, will soon acknowledge the Truth of what I say.

CHAP. LVIII.

The Issati *assemble to hunt the Wild-Bull. Refusal of the two Canow-Men to take the Author into their Canow, in order to go down the River of* St. Francis.

After three Months or thereabouts, spent very ill amongst the *Issati* and *Nadoueſſians*, these Nations assembl'd to hunt the Wild-Bull; and their Captains having assign'd them their Stations, that they might not fall in with one another, they separated themselves into many Bands.

Aquipaguetin, the Chief, that had adopted me for his Son, wou'd have carry'd me to the West with about 200 Families. But remembring the Reproaches which the great Captain *Ouaſicoude* had made him, upon the Score of our ill usage, I was apprehensive lest he shou'd lay hold of this Opportunity to avenge himself on me. I told him therefore, I expected some Spirits, which in their Language is as much as

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to say *Europeans*, at the River *Ouiſconſin*, which diſcharges it ſelf into the River *Meſchaſipi*; that according to the Promiſe made me by the Sieur *de la Salle*, they wou'd meet me there with Iron, and other Commodities, which as yet they were unacquainted with; and that if he would think of turning his Expedition that way, I ſhou'd be very glad to accompany him. He heard my Propoſal, and was willing to embrace it; but thoſe of his Band wou'd not let him.

In the beginning of *July*, 1680. we began to deſcend towards the South, with the great Captain *Ouaſicoude*, and about 80 Cabins, containing 130 Families and 250 Warriors. The Savages who had nothing but old Canou's, cou'd not make me room; ſo that they went four Days Journey lower, to get ſome Birchen-Bark, to make more new ones. I made a hole in the Ground, in which I hid my gilt Chalice, with my Books and Papers, till we ſhould return from hunting; and took nothing with me but my Breviary, that I might not cumber my ſelf.

I Plac'd my ſelf upon the Brink of the Lake which forms the River of *St. Francis*, where I held out my Hands to the Canou-Men, as they paſt very ſwiftly by, to deſire them to take me in. Our two *Europeans* were in a Canow, which had been given them by the Savages. However, I cou'd not prevail with them to receive me. *Michael Ako* told me very brutiſhly, he had carry'd me long enough. This rough and unhandſome Anſwer made me very melancholy, when I ſaw my ſelf forſaken by thoſe of my own Country and Religion, whom I had always endeavour'd to oblige, as themſelves had often acknowledg'd before Perſons of the firſt Quality, where I was us'd to be receiv'd with all the Marks of Diſtinction, while themſelves were ſuffer'd to ſtand and cool their Heels at the Door.

But God, who of his Mercy never forsook me throughout all my Adventures, inspir'd two of the Savages with so much Compassion, as to take me with them into their Canou, though it were less than that of the *Europeans*. Here I was continually employ'd in laving out Water, which soak'd in again as fast as 'twas thrown out, through abundance of little Chinks. This Work was uneasie enough; besides that, I could not keep my self from being throughly wet. However, 'twas necessary to have Patience. It might have been properly said of this little Vessel, that when a Man was in it, he was in his Coffin; so crazy was it, and ready to break. This sort of Canou's seldom weigh above 50 Pounds, and the least Motion of the Body oversets them, at least if you have not been long acquainted with this sort of Navigation.

At Evening when we landed, *Picard* began to excuse himself, pretending their Canow was a very rotten one, that it would certainly have burst, had we been all three in it, and that we must needs have been left by the way. Notwithstanding these Excuses, I told them, that being Christians, they had not done well to use me as they did, especially considering among whom we were: That they had forsaken me very unseasonably, having left me all alone at above 800 Leagues distance from *Canada*, allowing for the Reaches we were to make, before we cou'd get thither: That if they had receiv'd any good Usage from the Savages, 'twas owing to my Ingenuity more than their own, having been capable of letting several of them Blood, and otherwise assisting 'em in their Sickness by my Orvietan, and some other Medicines which I carefully kept by me.

To this I added, that by the same means I had cur'd others of them that had been bitten by Rattle-Snakes, of which I shall speak in my *Second Volume*. That I shav'd the Crowns of their Children's Heads,

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(on which they wear the Hair till eighteen or twenty) which was no ſmall matter, conſidering they cou'd not do it themſelves, without putting them to great Pain, by burning off the Hair with flat Stones, which they heat red-hot in the Fire: That hitherto indeed, I had made but little advance in order to their Salvation, by reaſon of their natural Stupidity; but that the beſt way to take the Soul was to begin with the Body: That, in ſhort I had gain'd their Friendſhip by my Services, and that they would have certainly kill'd us at the time they us'd us ſo ill, but that they knew I had certain Remedies about me proper to reſtore Health to the Sick; which they thought was a Treaſure never to be valu'd as it ought.

None was with me during this Harangue, but *Picard du Gay*, who, as he was going to his Cabin, deſir'd me to pardon him. But the great Captain *Ouaſicoude* having heard of this barbarous Action of the two Canow-Men, order'd them to appear before the Council, and told them, that for the future he wou'd take care to remove me out of the reach, not only of *Aquipaguetin*, who had ſo often attempted my Life, and yet adopted me for his Son, but likewiſe from their Company, who, like two Villains, as they were, had ſo baſely deſerted me. Had I not luckily bethought my ſelf to break three Arrows in the preſence of this brave Chief, the Canow-Men being yet by, he had infallibly caus'd them to have been put to death that very Minute. I ſhall never forget the Humanity of this great Captain, who treated me ſo favourably on all Occaſions. The two Canow-Men were ſurpriz'd at what had happen'd, and promis'd me an entire Obedience for the future.

CHAP. LIX.

The Savages halt above the Fall of St. Anthony *of* Padua. *They are streighten'd for Provisions. The Author, with* Picard, *returns to the River* Ouisconsin. *The Adventures of the Voyage.*

FOur Days after our Departure to hunt the wild Bulls, the Barbarians made a Halt some eight Leagues above the Fall of *St. Anthony* of *Padua*, upon an Eminence, over against the River of *St. Francis*. The Savage Women prepar'd little Docks to build the new Canou's in, against the return of those who were gone for Bark. The Youth in the mean time went out to hunt the Stag, the wild Goat and the Castor; but with so little Success, that the Prey they brought home was so disproportionable to the Number that were to feed on't, that we had hardly every one a Mouthful. Happy the Man that once in four and twenty Hours cou'd get so much as a Sup of Broath.

This put *Picard* and my self upon hunting after Gooseberries, and other wild Fruits, which often did us more harm than good. And I am confident, that had it not been for my Orvietan-Powder, which in a great measure corrected the bad Nutriment which we took in, our Lives had been in great Danger. This extreme Want, made us take a Resolution, upon *Michael Ako*'s refusing to accompany us, to venture our selves in a little sorry Canou as far as the River *Ouisconsin*, which was at no less distance from us than 130 Leagues, to see if the Sieur *de Salle* had kept his Word with us: For he had promis'd us positively to send Men with Powder, and Lead, and other Merchandizes, to the place which I have already mention'd: And of this he assured me

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more than once, before his departure from the *Illinois*.

The Savages wou'd never have ſuffer'd us to have made this Voyage, without one of the three being left with them: And my ſelf was the Man they pitch'd upon to ſtay, by the Advice of the great Captain *Ouaſicoude*, whilſt the two Canou-Men were at liberty to proceed on their Voyage. But *Michael Ako*, who was apprehenſive of the many Hardſhips he was like to meet with in this Expedition, could never be prevail'd upon to conſent to it: So that ſeeing he began to reliſh the Barbarians way of living, I deſir'd their Chief, that I might have leave to accompany *Picard* in his ſtead; who accordingly granted my Requeſt.

Our whole Equipage conſiſted of fifteen or twenty Charges of Powder, a Fuſil, a little ſorry Earthen Pot, which the Barbarians gave us, a Knife between us both, and a Garment of Caſtor. Thus were we equipt for a Voyage of 250 Leagues; but our greateſt Truſt was in Providence. As we were carrying our little Canou to the Fall of St. *Anthony* of *Padua*, we perceiv'd five or ſix Savages, who were got there before us. One of them was got up into an Oak over againſt the great Fall of Water, where he was weeping moſt bitterly, having faſten'd to one of the Branches of the Tree, a Robe of Caſtor, which was white within-ſide, and garniſh'd with Porcupine.

The poor Wretch had offer'd it in Sacrifice to the Fall; which, indeed, of it ſelf is terrible, and hath ſomething in it very aſtoniſhing: However, it doth not come near that of *Niagara*. I could hear him ſay, as he was addreſſing himſelf to the Caſcade, with Tears in his Eyes; *Thou art a Spirit, grant that Thoſe of my Nation may paſs here without any Diſaſter; That we may meet with a great many wild Bulls; and that we may be ſo happy as to vanquiſh our Enemy, and take a great many Slaves, whom, when we have made them*

them suffer according to their Merits, we will bring hither, and slay in thy Presence. The Messenacks ('tis so they call the Nation of the *Outtouagami's*) *have slain some of our Kindred: Grant we may be able to revenge our selves upon 'em for that Affront.*

The last part of his Request hapned to be fulfill'd sooner, I believe, than he expected: For as they return'd from hunting the wild Bulls, they attack'd their Enemy, kill'd a good many of them, and carry'd off several Slaves, whom they put to death before the Fall, after the most barbarous and inhumane manner in the World, as we shall see in the *Second Volume*. Now if after such a barbarous Ceremony as I have been describing, it happen but once that the Success answers the Request, 'tis sufficient to render them obstinate in their superstitious Custom, tho' it miscarry a hundred times for once that it hits. As for the Castor-Robe, which was thus offer'd as a sort of Sacrifice, one of our *Europeans* made bold with it at his return, and wou'd have been glad of having more frequent Opportunities of profiting by their Devotions.

When we had got about a League below the Fall, *Picard* miss'd his Powder-Horn, and remembring he had left it there, was forc'd to go back and fetch it. At his Return I shew'd him a huge Serpent, as big as a Man's Leg, and seven or eight Foot long. She was working her self insensibly up a steep craggy Rock, to get at the Swallows Nests which are there in great Numbers: And at the Bottom of the Mountain we saw the Feathers of those she had already devour'd. We pelted her so long with Stones, till at length she fell into the River. Her Tongue which was in form of a Lance, was of an extraordinary length. Her Hiss might be heard a great way, and the Noise of it seiz'd us with Horror. Poor *Picard* dreamt of her at Night, and was in a great Agony

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all the while. He told me, I had done him a ſenſible Kindneſs in waking him; for though he was a Man intrepid enough, yet he was all in a ſweat with the fright of his Dream. I have likewiſe my ſelf been often diſturb'd in my Sleep with the Image of her; ſo great an Impreſſion did the ſight of this Monſter make upon our Spirits.

As we were falling down the River *Meſchaſipi* with extraordinary Swiftneſs, becauſe the Current is very rapid in this place, by reaſon 'tis ſo near the Fall, we found ſome of the Savages of our Band, in the Iſlands of the River, where they had ſet up their Cabins, and were well provided with Bulls Fleſh. They offer'd us very freely of what they had. But about two Hours after our landing, we thought we ſhould have been all murder'd: Fifteen or ſixteen Savages came into the middle of the Place where we were, with their great Clubs in their Hands. The firſt thing they did was to over-ſet the Cabin of thoſe that had invited us. Then they took away all their Victuals, and what Bears-Oil they could find in their Bladders, or elſewhere, with which they rubb'd themſelves all over from Head to Foot.

We took them at firſt for Enemies; and *Picard* was very near ſticking the firſt that came in with his Sword. At the firſt ſurprize, I began to lay hold of the two Pocket-Piſtols that *du Gay* had left me; but by good luck I contain'd my ſelf, or otherwiſe, without doubt, there had been an end of us; for their Companions would not have fail'd to have reveng'd upon us the Death of thoſe we had kill'd.

We knew not what theſe Savages were at firſt; but it appear'd they were ſome of thoſe that we had left above at the the Fall of St. *Anthony*. One of them, who call'd himſelf my Uncle, told me, that thoſe who had given us Victuals, had done baſely to go and foreſtal the others in the Chaſe; and that according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of their Country,

Country, 'twas lawful for them to plunder them, since they had been the cause that the Bulls were all run away, before the Nation could get together, which was a great Injury to the Publick; For when they are all met, they make a great Slaughter amongst the Bulls; for they surround them so on every side, that 'tis impossible for them to escape.

CHAP. LX.

The Hunting of the Tortoise. The Author's Canow is carry'd off by a sudden blast of Wind, which was like to have reduc'd him and his Companion to great Streights.

IN about threescore Leagues rowing, we had kill'd but one wild-Goat, which we did as she was crossing the River. The Heats were now grown so excessive, that our Provisions would be spoil'd in twenty four Hours. This put us upon Hunting the Tortoise; but 'twas with much difficulty that we could take any; for being very quick of hearing, they would throw themselves into the Water upon the least noise. However, we took one at last, which was much larger than any we had seen: His Shell was thin, and the Flesh very fat. Whilst I was contriving to cut off his Head, he had like to have been before-hand with me, by snapping of my Finger with his Teeth, which are very sharp.

Whilst we were managing this Affair, we had halled our Canou a-shoar; but it seems a sudden and violent Blast of Wind had carry'd her off again into the middle of the River. *Picard* was gone into the Meadows, to see if he could kill a wild Bull; so that I was left alone with the Canou. This oblig'd me to throw my Habit as fast as I could over the Tortoise, which I had turn'd, for fear he should get away.

away. I likewiſe laid ſeveral Stones upon my Clothes, the better to ſecure him. When I had done, I fell a ſwimming after our Canow, which went very faſt down the River, being carry'd by a very quick Stream, becauſe 'twas juſt at the turning of a Point. After I had recover'd it with a great deal of difficulty, I durſt not get into it, for fear of being overſet, and wetting the Woollen Coverlet that was in it, which I us'd to ſleep on, and the reſt of our little Equipage: For which reaſon I was forc'd to puſh it ſometimes before me, and ſometimes tug it after me, till by little and little I gain'd the Shoar, a ſmall half quarter of a League below the Place where I had left the Tortoiſe.

Picard returning from the Chace, where he had kill'd nothing; and finding only my Habit upon the Tortoiſe, but no Canow, had reaſon to think that ſome Savage or other having found me alone, had kill'd me. In great ſuſpence, he return'd into the Meadows, to look about if he could ſee any body. In the mean time, I had made what haſte I cou'd up the River with my Canow; and had no ſooner, taken up my Clothes, but I 'ſpy'd a Drove of ſixty Bulls and Cows, with their Calves, croſſing the River, towards the Land on the South-ſide. I purſu'd them in my Canow, and ſet up as great a Cry as I could, to give *Picard* notice of it. He made up to the Noiſe, and had time enough to get into the Canow, whilſt a Dog which we had with us, by his Barking, had drove them to a Bay in the Iſles of the River. When we were prepared, the Dog drove them from thence; and as they paſs'd by us, *Picard* kill'd one of them with his Fuſil, having lodg'd the Bullet in his Head. Having dragg'd it to the ſide of the River, it prov'd to be a Cow, that weigh'd about five or ſix hundred weight. The Bulls have more Fleſh, and weigh heavier; but becauſe we could not get it quite to Land, we contented our

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selves with cutting the best Pieces, and left the rest in the Water.

'Twas almost now eight and forty Hours since we eat last; so that we fell a kindling a Fire as fast as we could, which we made of the Wood the River had thrown upon the Sands; and as fast as *Picard* skinn'd it, I put the Pieces of Flesh into our little earthen Pot to boil. We eat of it with that greediness, that both of us were sick; so that we were oblig'd to hide our selves in an Island, where we rested two Days for the recovery of our Health by the help of my *Orvietan*, which was a great Benefit to us during the whole Voyage. Whilst I was fetching the Pieces of Flesh which *Picard* gave me, I went backward and forward very often close by a Rattle-Snake, seven or eight Foot long, without perceiving him, as he lay wrapt asleep in the Sun. I told *Picard* of it, who came and kill'd him with our Oar, and afterwards threw him into the River.

To be short, we could not charge our selves with much Provisions, because of the smallness of our Canow; besides that, the excessive Heat tainted it presently, so that 'twou'd swarm with Worms in an instant. For these Reasons we were soon in the same condition; and when we embark'd in the Morning, we knew not whether we shou'd have any thing to eat at Night. Never had we more reason to admire the Goodness of Providence, than during this Voyage. 'Twas not every Day we met with any Game, nor when we did, were we sure to kill it.

The Eagles, which are to be seen in abundance in these vast Countries, will sometimes drop a Breme, a large Carp, or some other Fish, as they are carrying them to their Nests in their Talons, to feed their young. One day we 'spy'd an Otter, which was feeding on a great Fish upon the Bank of the River; which Fish had upon its Head a sort of

Beak

Beak about five Inches broad, and a Foot and a half long. As soon as *Picard* 'spy'd it, he cry'd out he saw the Devil between the Claws of the Otter. This Surprize was not so great, but that we made bold to feed heartily upon it. The Flesh of it was good; and we nam'd it the Sturgeon with the long Beak.

CHAP. LXI.

We continue our Course in search of the River Ouisconsin. Aquipaguetin *finds us, and gets thither before us. We subsist meerly by Providence.*

NOtwithstanding we had row'd so many Leagues, yet cou'd we not find the River of *Ouisconsin:* This made us believe that it was still at a great distance from us; when behold *Aquipaguetin*, whom we believ'd to be above 200 Leagues off, appear'd all on a sudden, with ten Warriors with him, towards the middle of *July*, 1680. We thought at first he came to kill us, because we had quitted him, though 'twere by the consent of the other Savages: But he gave us some wild Oats, with a Piece of good Bull's Flesh; and ask'd us if we had found the *Europeans* who were to meet us with their Merchandise. Our Answer not satisfying him, he was resolv'd to go to *Ouisconsin* himself; but when he came there, found no body. He return'd at the end of three Days, as we were still pursuing our Voyage, being resolv'd to acquit our selves fully of the Promise which we had made the Sieur *de Salle*, to come thither and meet those that he should send.

When *Aquipaguetin* first appear'd at his return, *Picard* was gone to Hunt in the Meads, and my self remain'd alone in a little Cabin, which we

we had set up under our Coverlet, which one of the Savages had return'd me, to shade us from the Sun-beams, which were very scorching at this Season. *Aquipaguetin* seeing me alone, came up to me with his Club in his Hand: I immediately laid hold of my two Pocket-Pistols and a Knife, which *Picard* had recover'd out of the Hands of the Barbarians. I had no mind to kill the Man that had adopted me, but only frighten him, and keep him from murdering me, in case that were his intent.

Aquipaguetin began to reprimand me for exposing my self in the manner I did to the Insults of their Enemies; and that at least I ought to have kept the other side of the River. He would have carry'd me with him, telling me, that he had 300 Hunters with him, who kill'd more Game than those that I was engag'd with. And probably it had been more adviseable for me to have follow'd his Advice, than to prosecute my Voyage any farther. However, our Resolution then was, to continue our course towards the River *Ouisconsin*; where when we came, we found none of the Men the Sieur *de la Salle* had promis'd to send us. *Picard* and my self had like to have perish'd on a thousand different Occasions, as we came down the River: And now we found our selves oblig'd to go up it again, which could not be done without repeating the same Hazards, and other Difficulties not to be imagin'd..

CHAP.

CHAP. LXII.

The great Streights which the Author and his Companion are reduc'd to in their Voyage. They at last meet again with the Savages at their return from Hunting.

PICARD, who had been very ill us'd by the Savages, had rather venture all than go up the River with *Aquipaguetin*. Six Charges of Powder was all that we had left, which oblig'd us to husband it as well as we could; wherefore we divided it into twenty, to shoot only for the future at Turtles or Wild Pigeons. When these also were spent, we had recourse to three Hooks, which we baited with some stinking Barbel that an Eagle hapned to drop. We took nothing the two first Days, and were destitute of all means of subsistence, This made us, you must think, betake our selves to Prayers with greater fervency than ever. And yet *Picard*, 'midst all our Misfortunes, could not forbear telling me, that he should pray to God with a much better Heart if his Belly were full.

I comforted both him and my self as well as I could, and desir'd him to row with all the force he had left, to see if we could catch a Tortoise. The next Morning, having row'd the best part of the Night, we found a Tortoise, which was no bigger than an ordinary Plate. We went to boiling him the same Minute on the Fire that we had kindled. We devour'd it so hastily, that I did not observe that I cut the Gall, which made my Mouth as bitter as it self; but I ran immediately and gargled my Throat, and so fell to't again, with the same eagerness as before.

Notwithstanding our famish'd Condition, we got at last to the *River of Bulls*: Here we cast our Hooks, which we baited with a white Fish that an Eagle

had let fall. God, who never abandons those that trust in him, succour'd us very visibly on this occasion; for we had scarce finish'd our Prayers towards ten at Night, when *Picard*, who heard the Noise, quitted his Devotion, and ran to the Hooks, where he found two Barbels hung, which were so large, that I was forc'd to help him to get them out of the Water. We did not stand to study what Sauce we should make for these monstrous Fish, which weigh'd above twenty five pound both; but having cut them to pieces, broil'd 'em on the Coals. Boil them we could not, our little Earthen Pot being unhappily broke some time before.

When we had satisfy'd our Appetite, and return'd our Thanks to Him, whose Providence had so seasonably reliev'd us, we heard a noise about two in the Morning, upon the Bank of the *River of Bulls*, where we then were. After the *Who-goes-there?* we heard the Answer was, *Tepatoni Nika*, and the Word *Nikanagi*; which is as much as to say, *Friends, all is well.* I told *Picard*, that by the Language I believ'd them to be *Illinois*, or *Outouagamis*, who are Enemies of the *Issati*, or *Nadoueſſans*. But the Moon shining very bright, and the Day beginning to appear, I perceiv'd 'twas the Savage *Mamemisi*, whose Infant-Daughter I Baptiz'd, when *Picard* assisted as Godfather, or Witness. He knew us again presently; and being just come from Hunting, where they had had plenty of Game, he gave us what Victuals we pleas'd; and inform'd us, that all those of his Nation were coming down the *River of Bulls*, which discharges it self into the *Meschasipi*, having their Wives and Children with them.

What he said was true; for the Savages, with whom *Michael Ako* had staid behind, were all descending the *River of Bulls* with their Fleet of Canow's well stor'd with Provisions. *Aquipaguetin* by the way had acquainted those of his Nation, how

Picard

Picard and my ſelf had expos'd our ſelves in our Voyage to *Ouſconſin*, and what great Hazards we had ran. The Chiefs of the Savages gave us to underſtand, that they were very well ſatisfi'd with what we had done: But all of them reproach'd *Michael Ako* for a Baſe Fellow, who had refus'd to accompany us for fear of being famiſh'd by the way. *Picard* too, but that I did what I could to hinder it, would have us'd him ill before all the Company, ſo incens'd was he againſt him, for his want of Courage and Affection.

CHAP. LXIII.

The Savage Women hide their Proviſions up-and-down in private Holes. They go down the River again a ſecond time. Addreſs of the Savages. Bravery of one of the Savages.

THE Savage Women being come to the Mouth of the *River of Bulls*, hid their Proviſions up-and-down the little Iſlands that are there, and in hollow Places under-ground. Theſe People have a way to preſerve their Meat thus, without Salt, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. We fell down the River a ſecond time, in company of a multitude of Canow's, of which I have already ſpoke, Hunting all the way as we went, and were got a matter of fourſcore Leagues. The Savages from time to time hid their Canows in the little Iſland, or in the Reeds upon the Bank of the River, and went ſeven or eight Leagues up the Country into the Meadows beyond the Mountains, where at ſeveral times they kill'd between an hundred and ſixſcore Cows and Bulls. Whilſt they are at the Chaſe, they always leave ſome Old Men on the top of the Mountains, to ſee if they can diſcover the Enemy.

All this while I had a Savage under my Cure, who uſually call'd me Brother: He had run a

Thorn very deep into his Foot, and I was then putting a Plaister on it, when on a sudden the Alarm was taken in our Camp. Two hundred Archers immediately ran to see what was the matter; and the generous Savage, whose Foot I had laid open, in order to get out the Thorn, which was very deep, sprung likewise from me on a sudden, and ran as fast as the best, that he might not lose his share in the Action. But instead of the Enemy, they could see nothing but about an hundred Stags, which were running away as fast as they could. My poor Patient had much ado to recover the Camp. All the while the Alarm lasted, the Women and Maids kept singing in a very sad and melancholy Tone.

Picard being gone to his Host, I was left alone with one *Otchimbi*; but after the second Hunting, I was forc'd to carry an Old Woman with me in my Canow, who was above fourscore: For all that, she help'd me to row, and with her Oar would now-and-then pat two or three little Children, that lay and disturb'd us in the middle of our Canow. The Men were very kind to me; but for all that, 'twas necessary to make a Court to the Women; for the Victuals were all in their Custody, who deliver'd every one his Mess. This I did by shaving now-and-then the Crowns of their Children's Heads, who wear their Hair shorn not unlike our Monks. They let it grow till they are fifteen, sixteen, or eighteen Years old, as well on the top of the Head, as elsewhere; but at that Age, their Parents take it off, by burning it with flat stones made red-hot in the Fire: So that the Women thought themselves mightily beholding to me for shaving their Children, because I took off the Hair without pain.

We had again another Alarm in our Camp: The Old Men who had their Station on the top of the Mountains, sent to give notice that they had descry'd some Warriors from afar. The Archers

chers ran as hard as they could drive, towards the Place where the Enemy was said to appear, every one endeavouring to be first in the Action. But after all this Noise, they brought nothing back with them but two Women of their own Nation, who were come to acquaint them that one of their Parties being gone a Hunting, towards the end of the Upper Lake, had light upon five Spirits, by which Name it is they call the *Europeans*. They added, That these Spirits had talk'd to 'em, by means of some of their Nation who had seen us, and had been Slaves amongst the *Outouagamis* and *Iroquoese*, whose Language they understood: That they had also desir'd them to conduct them to the Place where we were, because they should be very glad to know whether we were *English*, *Dutch*, *Spaniards*, or *Canadians*: And farther, That they could not imagine how we had been able to penetrate so far up into the Country amongst these People.

I must observe hereupon, that there are certain Persons at *Canada*, who have got the Management of all Affairs there into their hands, as I have elsewhere said. These People being very angry, that we had been aforehand with them in our Discoveries, had sent Men after us to share in the Glory of the Action: For they hoped by our Means to get a Knowledge of the Nations which we had seen, in order to Trade thither, as soon as they should have a Pretence of sending us back to *Europe*.

CHAP. LXIV.

Arrival of the Sieur Du Luth *in our Camp. He desires us to return with him and his Followers to the Country of the* Issati *and* Nadoueſſians. *The Author cast my Coverlet over a dead Man. The Savages are pleas'd at it.*

THE 28th of *July*, 1680. we began to ascend the River *Meschasipi* the third time. The Savages, who had made a grand Hunt with good Success, were resolv'd to return home to their own Villages, and press'd us to go with them; promising to conduct us as far as the Nations that inhabited at the End of the Upper-Lake. They said they had a design to make an Alliance with those People through our Means. The Sieur *du Luth* was arriv'd there from *Canada*, accompany'd with five Men, whose Equipage was half Soldier, half Merchant.

They came up to us in company with the two Savage-Women an hundred and twenty Leagues, or thereabouts, from the Country of the *Barbarians*, that had taken us. They desir'd us, because we had some knowledge of the Language of the *Issati*, to accompany them back to the Villages of those People. I readily agreed to their request, especially when I understood that they had not receiv'd the Sacraments in the whole two Years and a half that they had been out upon their Voyage. The Sieur *du Luth*, who pass'd for their Captain, was over-joy'd to see me, and told me as a Secret, that those who had sent him, wou'd miss of their aim, as he wou'd let me know more at leisure. And observing how I shav'd the Crowns of the Young Savages, he order'd them to be told I was his eldest Brother.

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All this made the Savages treat me better than ever, and furniſh me very plentifully with Proviſions. I apply'd my ſelf alſo more than ever to the means of their Salvation; and 'tis true they hearken'd to me attentively enough. But then, to make any progreſs, one muſt live whole Years amongſt them, they are ſo ignorant, and grounded in Superſtition.

The Sieur *du Luth* was charm'd at the ſight of the Fall of *St. Anthony of Padua*, which was the Name we had given it, and in all appearance will remain with it. I alſo ſhew'd him the craggy Rock, where the monſtrous Serpent was climbing up to devour the young Swallows in their Neſts; and recounted to him the Horror that ſeiz'd *Picard*, at the Image his Fancy fram'd of that terrible Animal in his Dream.

I muſt here obſerve, that ſeeing my ſelf at Liberty to ſay my Office after the Arrival of the Sieur *du Luth*, to be more exact in the Service, I thought I wou'd ask him the Day of the Month: He told me as freely, he cou'd not ſatisfy me in that Point, for he had no Notion of it left. Upon this I recounted to him the ill uſage which we receiv'd at the Hands of the *Barbarians*, at their firſt taking us, which proceeded many times ſo far as to threaten our Lives; that therefore he ought not to be ſurpriz'd, if through the Terrors and Apprehenſions which I had lain ſo long under, I had forgot even the Day of the Week.

We arriv'd at the Villages of the *Iſſati* on the 14*th* of *Auguſt*, 1680. where I found my *Chalice* very ſafe, with the Books and Papers which I had hid under-ground, in preſence of the Savages themſelves. Theſe Wretches had never had ſo much as a thought to meddle with them, being fearful and ſuperſtitious in relation to Spirits, and believing there is Witchcraft in every thing they cannot apprehend.

prehend. The Tobacco which I planted before our Departure, was half choak'd with Grass. But the Cabbage, and other things which I had sown, were of a prodigious growth. The Stalks of the Purslain were as big as Reeds: But the Savages were afraid so much as to taste them.

A little after our return, the Savages invited us to a great Feast after their own fashion. There were above an hundred and twenty Men at it naked. *Ouasicoude*, the first Captain of the Nation, and Kinsman of the Deceas'd, whose dead Body I cover'd, when they brought him back to the Village in a Canow, brought me some dry'd Flesh and wild Oats in a dish of Bark, which he set before me upon a Bull's Hide, whiten'd, and garnish'd with Porcupine Skins on the one side, and curl'd Wooll on the other.

After I had eat, this Chief put the same Robe on my Head, and cover'd my Face with it, saying with a loud Voice before all that were present, *He whose dead Body thou didst cover, covers thine while alive. He has carry'd the Tydings of it to the Country of Souls,* (for these People believe the Transmigration of Souls:) *What thou didst in respect of the Dead, is highly to be esteem'd: All the Nation applauds and thanks thee for it.*

After this he gently reproach'd the Sieur *du Luth*, that he did not cover the Dead, as I had done. To which the Sieur desir'd me to answer, That he never cover'd the Bodies of any but such Captains as himself. To which the Savage answer'd, *Father* Louis (for so he heard the *Europeans* call me) *it a greater Captain than thou: His Robe* (speaking of my Brocard Chasuble, which they had taken from me, and was afterwards sent as a Present to our Allies, who liv'd three Moons distance from this Country) *was finer than what thou weareſt.*

When these Savages speak of a Journey of three or more Moons, they mean Months. They march well, and will travel fifteen Leagues a Day. By

which

which the Reader may judge what an extent of Ground they can go in three Month.

CHAP. LXV.

The Author takes his leave of the Savages to return to Canada. *A Savage is slain by his Chief, for advising to kill us. Dispute between the Sieur* du Luth *and the Author, about the Sacrifice of Barbarians.*

TOwards the end of *September*, seeing we had no Tools proper to build a House to dwell in during the Winter, amongst these People; and considering that we were destitute of Provisions necessary to subsist there, as our Design was at first to have done, we resolv'd to let them understand, that to procure them Iron, and other Merchandizes, which were useful for them, 'twas convenient that we shou'd return to *Canada*, and that at a certain time which we shou'd agree upon between us, they shou'd come half the way with their Furrs, and we the other half with our *European* Commodities: That they might let two of their Warriors go with us, whom we wou'd carry into our Country, and likewise bring back again the next Year to the place appointed for meeting, from whence they might proceed to acquaint them of our return, in order to their meeting us with their Effects.

Upon this they held a great Council, to consider whether they shou'd send some of their Nation with us or no. Two there were who were for it, and offer'd themselves to be the Men: But they alter'd their Opinion the Day of our Departure, alledging for a Reason, That we were obliged to pass through many Nations who were their sworn Enemies, and wou'd be sure to seize their Men, and take them out of our Hands, either to burn them, or put them otherwise

otherwise to Death by exquisite Torments, and that without our being able to hinder it, being so few in Number as we were.

I answer'd, That all those People, whom they were afraid of, were our Friends and Allies, and that in consideration of us, they wou'd forbear to injure any of their Nation that were with us. These Barbarians want no Wit; on the contrary, their Natural Parts are extraordinary. They told us in return, that since we were to pass through these People, who were their sworn Enemies, we shou'd do well to destroy them, at whose Hands they had receiv'd so many Injuries; that then their Men shou'd go and return with us to fetch them Iron, and other Commodities which they wanted, and wou'd gladly treat with us about. From whence we may gather, that these Barbarians are full of Resentment, and Thoughts of Revenge, Dispositions not altogether so well prepar'd, to receive the meek Doctrine of the Gospel.

In fine, *Ouasicoude* their Chief Captain, having consented to our Return, in a full Council, gave us some Bushels of Wild-Oats, for our Subsistence by the way, having first regal'd us in the best manner he cou'd, after their fashion. We have already observ'd, that these Oats are better and more wholsome then Rice. After this, with a Pencil, he mark'd down on a Sheet of Paper, which I had left, the Course that we were to keep for four hundred Leagues together. In short, this natural Geographer describ'd our Way so exactly, that this Chart serv'd us as well as my Compass cou'd have done. For by observing it punctually, we arriv'd at the Place which we design'd, without losing our way in the least.

All things being ready, we dispos'd our selves to depart, being eight *Europeans* of us in all. We put

our

our ſelves into two Canows, and took our leaves of our Friends, with a Volly of our Men's Fuſils, which put them into a terrible Fright. We fell down the River of St. *Francis*, and then that of the *Meſchaſipi*. Two of our Men, without ſaying any thing, had taken down two Robes of Caſtor, from before the Fall of St. *Anthony* of *Padua*, where the Barbarians had hung them upon a Tree as a ſort of Sacrifice. Hereupon aroſe a Diſpute between the Sieur *du Luth* and my ſelf. I commended what they had done, ſaying, *The Barbarians might judge by it, that we diſapprov'd their Superſtition.* On the contrary, the Sieur *du Luth* maintain'd, That they ought to have let the things alone in that place where they were, for that the Savages wou'd not fail to revenge the Affront which we had put upon them by this Action, and that it was to be fear'd leſt they ſhou'd purſue and inſult us by the Way.

I own he had ſome grounds for what he ſaid, and that he argu'd according to the Rules of Humane Prudence. But the two Men anſwer'd him bluntly, that the things fitted them, and therefore they ſhou'd not trouble their Heads about the Savages, nor their Superſtitions. The Sieur *du Luth* fell into ſo violent a Paſſion at theſe Words, that he had like to have ſtruck the Fellow that ſpake them; but I got between, and reconcil'd the Matter: For *Picard* and *Michael Ako* began to ſide with thoſe that had taken away the things in queſtion, which might have prov'd of ill conſequence. I aſſur'd the Sieur *du Luth*, that the Savages durſt not hurt us, for that I was perſuaded their Grand Captain *Ouaſicoude* wou'd always make our Cauſe his own, and that we might rely on his Word, and the great Credit he had amongſt thoſe of his Nation. Thus the Buſineſs was peaceably made up, and we ſailed down

down the River together as good Friends as ever, hunting the Wild-Beasts as we went.

When we were got almost as far as the River *Ouisconsin*, we made a stop, to smoak after the manner of the Country, the Flesh of the Bulls which we had kill'd by the Way. During our stay here, for the Reason aforesaid, three Savages of the same Nation, which we had lately left, came up to us in their Canow, to acquaint us that their Grand Captain *Ouasicoude* having learnt that another Chief of the same Nation had a Design to pursue and murder us, he came into the Cabin where the said Captain and his Associates were consulting about it, and gave him a Blow on the Head with so much Fury, that his Brains flew out upon those that were present at the Consult, resolving by this means effectually to prevent the Execution of his pernicious Design. We regal'd the three Savages for their good News very nobly, having plenty of Provisions at that time.

The Sieur *du Luth*, as soon as the Savages were gone, fell into as great a Passion as before, and seem'd very apprehensive lest they shou'd still pursue and set upon us in our Voyage. He wou'd have carri'd Matters farther, but that he found our Men wou'd not bate him an Ace, and were not in an Humour to be bulli'd. I took upon me to moderate the Matter once more, and pacifi'd them in the End, by assuring them that God wou'd not leave us in Distress, provided we put our Trust in him, and that he was able to deliver us from all our Enemies.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXVI.

The Sieur du Luth *is in a great Consternation at the Appearance of a Fleet of the Savages, who surprized us before we were got into the River* Ouisconsin.

THE Sieur *du Luth* had reason to believe that the three Savages but now mention'd were really Spies sent to observe our Actions; for indeed they knew that we had taken away the Robes of Castor from before the Fall of *St. Anthony*. He cou'd not forego his Fears, but told me, we should serve the Fellow that did it but right, if we shou'd force him to carry them back, and leave them in the place where he found them. I foresaw Discord wou'd be our Destruction, and so made my self Mediator of the Peace once more. I appeas'd the Fray, by remonstrating, That God, who had preserv'd us hitherto in the greatest Dangers, wou'd have a more peculiar Care of us on this Occasion, because the Man's Action was good in it self.

Two days after, all our Provisions being dress'd, and fit to keep, we prepar'd to depart: But the Sieur *du Luth* was mightily surpriz'd when he perceiv'd a Fleet of an hundred and forty Canows, carrying about an hundred and fifty Men, bearing down directly upon us. Our Mens Consternation was no less than the Sieur's: But when they saw me take out from amongst our Equipage, a Calumet of Peace which the *Issati* had given us as a Pledge of their Friendship and Protection, they took Heart, and told me they wou'd act as I shou'd direct.

I order'd two of them to embark with me in a Canow, to meet the Savages: But the Sieur desir'd me to take a third to row, that by standing in the middle

middle of the Canow, I might the better shew the Pipe of Peace, which I carry'd in my hand, to appease the Barbarians, whose Language I understood indifferently well. The other four of our Men I left with the Sieur *du Luth*, and told them, in case any of the young Warriors shou'd Land, and come up to them, they shou'd by no means discourse or be familiar with them; but that they should keep their Posts with their Arms ready fixt. Having given these Orders, I went into my Canow, to the Barbarians who were a coming down the River in theirs.

Seeing no Chief amongst them, I call'd out as loud as I cou'd, *Ouasicoude, Ouasicoude*, repeating his Name several times. At last I perceiv'd him rowing up towards me: All this while none of his People had affronted us, which I look'd upon as a good Omen. I conceal'd my Reed of Peace, the better to let them see how much I rely'd upon their Word. Soon after we landed, and entred the Cabin where the Sieur *du Luth* was, who wou'd have embrac'd their Captain. Here we must observe, that 'tis not the Custom of the Savages to embrace after the manner of the *French*. I told the Sieur *du Luth* that he need only present him with a piece of the best boyl'd Meat that he had, and that in case he eat of it, we were safe.

It hapned according to our Wish; all the rest of the Captains of this little Army came to visit us. It cost our Folks nothing but a few Pipes of *Martinico*-Tobacco, which these People are passionately fond of, though their own be stronger, more agreeable, and of a much better Scent. Thus the Barbarians were very civil to us, without ever mentioning the Robes of Castor. The Chief *Ouasicoude* advis'd me to present some Pieces of *Martinico* Tobacco to the Chief *Aquipaguetin*, who had adopted me for his Son. This Civility had strange effects upon the

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Barbarians, who went off ſhouting, and repeating the Word *Louis*, which, as we ſaid, ſignifies the *Sun*: So that I muſt ſay without Vanity, my Name will be as it were immortal amongſt theſe People, by reaſon of its jumping ſo accidentally with that of the Sun.

CHAP. LXVII.

The Author's Voyage from the Mouth of the River Ouiſconſin, *to the great Bay of the* Puans.

THE Savages having left us to go and War upon the *Meſſorites*, *Mahoras*, *Illinois*, and other Nations, which inhabit towards the lower part of the River *Meſchaſipi*, and are irreconcilable Enemies to the People of the *North*; the Sieur *du Luth*, who upon many Occaſions approv'd himſelf to be much my Friend, cou'd not forbear telling our People, that I had all the reaſon in the World to believe that the Viceroy of *Canada* wou'd give me a very kind Reception, in caſe we cou'd arrive there before Winter; and that he wiſh'd with all his heart he had been among ſo many different Nations as my ſelf.

As we went up the River *Ouiſconſin*, we found it was as large as that of the *Illinois*, which is navigable for large Veſſels above an hundred Leagues. We cou'd not ſufficiently admire the Extent of thoſe vaſt Countries, and the Charming Lands through which we paſs'd, which lye all untill'd. The cruel Wars which theſe Nations have one with another, are the cauſe that they have not People enough to cultivate them. And the more bloody Wars which have rag'd ſo long in all parts of *Europe*, have hinder'd the ſending Chriſtian Colonies to ſettle there. However, I muſt needs ſay, that the poorer ſort of

our

our Countrymen wou'd do well to think of it, and go and plant themselves in this fine Country, where for a little Pains in tilling the Earth, they wou'd live happier, and subsist much better than they do here. I have seen Lands there, which wou'd yield three Crops in a Year: And the Air is incomparably more sweet and temperate than in *Holland*.

After we had row'd about seventy Leagues upon the River *Ouisconsin*, we came to a Place where we were forc'd to carry our Canow for half a League, which *Ouasicoude* had set down in his Chart. We lay at this place all Night, and left Marks of our having been there, by the Crosses which we cut on the Barks of the Trees. Next Day, having carri'd our Canows and the rest of our little Equipage over this Piece of Land, we entred into a River, which makes almost as many Meanders as that of the *Illinois* doth at its Rise: For after six Hours rowing, which we did very fast, we found our selves, notwithstanding all the Pains we had been at, overagainst the Place where we embark'd. One of our Men must needs shoot at a Bird flying, which overset his Canow; but by good luck he was within his depth.

We were forc'd to break several Sluces which the Castors had made for our Canows to pass; otherwise we cou'd not have continued our Way, or carri'd our things to embark them again above these Sluces.

These Creatures make them with so much Art, that Man cannot equal it. We shall speak of them in our *Second Volume*. We found several of these Ponds, or Stops of Water, which these Creatures make with Pieces of Wood, like a Causey.

After this we pass'd over four Lakes, which are all made by this River. Here formerly dwelt the *Miamis*; but now the *Maskoutens*, *Kikapous*, and *Outoutagamis*, who sow their *Indian* Wheat here, on which

which they chiefly subsist. We made some Broath of the Water of a certain Fall, which they call *Kakalin*; because the Savages come often hither to ease themselves, and lye on their Backs, with their Faces expos'd to the Sun.

Thus having made more than Four hundred Leagues by Water since our departure from the Country of the *Issati* and *Nadoueſſans*, we arriv'd at last at the great Bay of the *Puans*, which makes part of the Lake of the *Illinois*.

CHAP. LXVIII.

The Author and his Company stay some time amongst the Puans. *The Original of the Name. They celebrated Mass here, and wintered at* Missilimakinak.

WE found many *Canadians* in this Bay of the *Puans*. The Nation that inhabits here, is so call'd, because formerly they dwelt in certain Marshy Places, full of stinking Waters, situate on the *South-Sea*. But being drove out thence by their Enemy, they came and settled in this Bay, which is to the East of the *Illinois*. The *Canadians* were come hither to Trade with the People of this Bay, contrary to an Order of the Viceroy. They had still a little of the Wine left, which they brought with them, and kept in a Pewter Flagon. I made use of it for Mass. Till now, I had nothing but a Chalice, and a Marble Altar, which was pretty light, and very handsomly engrav'd: But here by good Fortune I met with the Sacerdotal Robes too. Some *Illinois* who had happily escap'd their Enemies the *Iroqueſe*, who had attack'd and almost destroy'd them since my Voyage, and the time that I had been a Slave amongst the Barbarians, had brought with them the Ornaments of the Chapel of Father *Zenobius Mambre*,

bre, whom we had left among the *Illinois*. Some of these, I say, who were escap'd to the Place where we were, deliver'd me up all the Ornaments of the Chapel, except the Chalice. They promis'd to get me that too for a little Tobacco, which I was to give them; and were as good as their Word, for they brought it me some few Days after.

'Twas more than nine Months since I had celebrated the Sacrament of the Mass, for want of Wine. We might indeed have done it in our Voyage, had we had Vessels proper to keep Wine in: But we cou'd not charge our Canow with such, being very unfit to carry things of Burden. 'Tis true, we met with Grapes in many Places through which we pass'd, and had made some Wine too, which we put into Gourds; but it fail'd us whilst we were among the *Illinois*, as I have elsewhere observ'd. As for the rest, I had still some Wafers by me, which were as good as ever, having been kept in a Steel-Box shut very close.

We stay'd two Days at the Bay of the *Puans*; where we sung *Te Deum*, and my self said Mass, and Preach'd. Our Men prepar'd themselves for the Holy Sacrament, which we receiv'd, in order to render our Thanks to God, who had preserv'd us amidst the many Dangers we had run, the Difficulties we had surmounted, and Monsters we had overcome.

One of our Canow-Men truck'd a Fusil with a Savage for a Canow larger than our own, in which, after an hundred Leagues rowing, having coasted all along the great Bay of the *Puans*, we arriv'd at *Missilimakinak*, in the Lake of *Huron*, where we were forc'd to Winter: For our Way lying still North, we shou'd infallibly have perish'd amongst the Ice and Snow, had we proceeded any further.

By the Course we were oblig'd to take, we were still about Four hundred Leagues from *Canada*. Amongst these People, I met, to my no little Satisfaction,

faction, Father *Pierſon*, a Jeſuit, who is a Son of the King's Receiver for the Town of *Aeth* in *Hainault*. He was come hither to learn their Language, and ſpoke it then paſſably well. This *Religious*, who retain'd ſtill the free and open Humour of his Countrymen, had made himſelf belov'd by his obliging Behaviour, and ſeem'd to be an utter Enemy of Caballing and Intrigues, having a candid Spirit, generous and ſincere. In a word, He appear'd to me to be ſuch as every good Chriſtian ought to be. The Reader may judge how agreeably I paſs'd the Winter in ſuch good Company, after the Miſeries and Fatigues I had undergone in the Courſe of our Diſcoveries.

To make the beſt uſe of my time that I cou'd, I Preach'd all the Holy-days and Sundays in *Advent* and *Lent*, for the Edification of our Men, and other *Canadians*, who were come four or five Leagues out of their Country, to Trade for Furrs amongſt theſe Savages: From whence we may obſerve, that there are ſome whom I ſhall forbear to name, who notwithſtanding all their pretended Auſteriries, are yet no leſs covetous of the Things of this World, than the moſt Secular Perſon in it. The *Outtaouatts* and the *Hurons* wou'd often aſſiſt at our Ceremonies in a Church cover'd with Ruſhes and a few Boards, which the *Canadians* had built here: But they came more out of Curioſity than any Deſign to conform themſelves to the Rules of our Holy Religion.

The latter of theſe Savages would tell us, ſpeaking of our Diſcoveries, That themſelves were but Men; but for us *Europeans*, we muſt needs be Spirits: That if they had gone ſo far up amongſt ſtrange Nations as we had done, they ſhould have been ſure to have been kill'd by them without Mercy; whereas we paſs'd every where without danger, and knew how to procure the Friendſhip of all we met.

During the Winter, we broke Holes in the Ice of the Lake *Huron*, and by means of ſeveral large

Stones, sunk our Nets sometimes twenty, sometimes twenty five Fathom under Water to catch Fish, which we did in great abundance. We took Salmon-Trouts, which often weigh'd from forty to fifty pounds. These made our *Indian* Wheat go down the better, which was our ordinary Diet. Our Beverage was nothing but Broth made of Whiteings, which we drank hot; because as it cools it turns to Jelly, as if it had been made of Veal.

During our stay here, Father *Pierson* and I would often divert our selves on the Ice, where we skated on the Lake as they do in *Holland*. I had learn'd this Slight when I was at *Ghent*, from whence to *Brussels* one may run in three Hours with abundance of Pleasure when the Canal is frozen. 'Tis the usual Diversion with which the Inhabitants of these two Cities entertain themselves during the Winter, by favour of the Ice.

It must be allow'd, without reflecting on any other Order, That those of St. *Francis* are very proper for the setling of Colonies. They make a strict Vow of Poverty, and have a Property in nothing as their own: They enjoy only a simple Use of Things necessary to Life. Those that give us any Moveables, continue still to be the owners of them, and may take them again at pleasure. 'Tis this Poverty which is recommended to us by many Popes; but above all by our Rule, which is the only one I find inserted in the Canon-Law.

What pass'd at *Missilimakinak* during this Winter, is a Proof of what I say. Two and forty *Canadians*, who were come hither upon the account of the Trade which they drive here with the Savages, desir'd me to present them with the Cord of St. *Francis*. I compli'd with their Request; and each time I deliver'd a Cord, made a small Harangue by way of Exhortation to the Person receiving it, and then associated him to the Prayers of the Order. They would

would have kept me with them, and made me a Settlement, where from time to time they might have resort to me. They promis'd me moreover, since I would accept of no Furrs, that they would prevail with the Savages to furnish out my Subsistence in the best manner which could be expected for the Country. But becaufe the greateft part of them that made me this Offer, Traded into theſe Parts without permiſſion, I gave them to underſtand, That the Common Good of our Diſcoveries, ought to be preferr'd before their private Advantages; ſo deſir'd them to excuſe me, and permit me to return to *Canada* for a more Publick Good.

CHAP. LXIX.

The Author's Departure from Miſſilimakinak. *He paſſes two great Lakes. The taking of a Great Bear. ome Particulars relating to the Fleſh of that Beaſt.*

WE parted from *Miſſilimakinak* in *Eaſter*-Week, 1681. and for twelve or thirteen Leagues together, were oblig'd to draw our Proviſions and Canow's after us over the Ice, up the Lake *Huron*, the ſides of which continu'd ſtill froze five or ſix Leagues broad. The Ice being broke, we embark'd, after the Solemnity of the *Quaſimodo*, which we had an opportunity to celebrate, having by good Fortune met with a little Wine, which a *Canadian* had brought with him, and ſerv'd us all the reſt of our Voyage. After we had row'd a hundred Leagues all along the ſides of the Lake *Huron*, we paſs'd the Streights, which are thirty Leagues through, and the Lake of St. *Claire*, which is in the middle: Thence we arriv'd at the Lake *Erie*, or of the *Cat*, where we ſtai'd ſome time to kill Sturgeon, which come here in great numbers, to caſt their Spawn on the

side of the Lake. We took nothing but the Belly of the Fish, which is the most delicious part, and threw away the rest.

This Place afforded also plenty of Venison and Fowl. As we were standing in the Lake, upon a large Point of Land which runs it self very far into the Water, we perceiv'd a Bear in it as far as we could see. We could not imagine how this Creature got there; 'twas very improbable that he shou'd swim from one side to t'other, that was thirty or forty Leagues over. It hapned to be very calm; and so two of our Men leaving us on the Point, put off to attack the Bear, that was near a quarter of a League out in the Lake. They made two Shot at him one after another, otherwise the Beast had certainly sunk them. As soon as they had fir'd, they were forc'd to sheer off as fast as they could to charge again; which when they had done, they return'd to the Attack. The Bear was forc'd to stand it; and it cost them no less than seven Shot before they could compass him.

As they were endeavouring to get him aboard, they were like to have been over-set; which if they had, they must have been infallibly lost: All they could do was to fasten him to the Bar that is in the middle of the Canow, and so drag him on Shoar; which they did at last with much ado, and great hazard of their Lives. We had all the leisure that was requisite for the dressing and ordering him, so as to make him keep; and in the mean time took out his Intrails, and having cleans'd and boil'd them, eat heartily of them. These are as good a Dish as those of our Sucking-Pigs in *Europe*. His Flesh serv'd us the rest of our Voyage, which we usually eat with lean Goats-flesh, because it is too fat to eat by it self: So that we liv'd for an hundred Leagues upon the Game that we kill'd in this Place.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXX.

The Meeting of the Author and a certain Captain of the Outtaouacts, *nam'd* Talon *by the Intendant of that Name, upon the Lake of* Erie; *who recounts to him many Adventures of his Family and Nation. Further Observations upon the Great Fall or Cataracts of* Niagara.

THere was a certain Captain of the *Outtaouacts*, to whom the Intendant *Talon* gave his own Name, whilſt he was at *Quebec*. He us'd to come often to that City with thoſe of his Nation, who brought Furrs thither: We were ſtrangely ſurpriz'd at the ſight of this Man, whom we found almoſt famiſh'd, and more like a Skeleton than a living Man. He told us the Name of *Talon* would be ſoon extinct in this Country, ſince he reſolv'd not to ſurvive the Loſs of ſix of his Family who had been ſtarved to Death. He added, That the Fiſhery and Chace had both fail'd this Year, which was the occaſion of this ſad Diſaſter.

He told us moreover, That though the *Iroqueſe* were not in War with his Nation, yet had they taken and carri'd into Slavery an entire Family of Twelve Souls. He begg'd very earneſtly of me, that I would uſe my utmoſt Endeavours to have them releas'd, if they were yet alive; and gave me two Necklaces of Black and White Porcelain, that I might be ſure not to neglect a Buſineſs which he laid ſo much to heart. *I can rely upon thee*, Bare-foot, (for ſo they always call'd us) *and am confident that the* Iroqueſe *will hearken to thy Reaſons ſooner than any ones. Thou didſt often adviſe them at their Councils, which were held then at the Fort of* Katarockoui, *where thou haſt caus'd a great Cabin to be built. Had I been at my Village when thou cam'ſt through it, I would have done all that I could to have kept*

thee, instead of the Black Coat (so they call the Jesuites) *which was there.* When the poor Captain had done speaking, I solemnly promis'd him to use my utmost Interest with the *Iroquese*, for the releasement of his Friends.

After we had row'd above an hundred and forty Leagues upon the Lake *Erie*, by reason of the many Windings of the Bays and Creeks which we were forc'd to coast, we pass'd by the Great Fall of *Niagara*, and spent half a Day in considering the Wonders of that prodigious Cascade.

I could not conceive how it came to pass, that four great Lakes, the least of which is 400 Leagues in compass, should empty themselves one into another, and then all centre and discharge themselves at this Great Fall, and yet not drown good part of *America*. What is yet more surprizing, the Ground from the Mouth of the Lake *Erie*, down to the Great Fall, appears almost level and flat. 'Tis scarce discernable that there is the least Rise or Fall for six Leagues together: The more than ordinary swiftness of the Stream, is the only thing that makes it be observ'd. And that which makes it yet the stranger is, That for two Leagues together below the Fall, towards the Lake *Ontario*, or *Frontenac*, the Lands are as level as they are above it towards the Lake of *Erie*.

Our Surprise was still greater, when we observ'd there were no Mountains within two good Leagues of this Cascade; and yet the vast quantity of Water which is discharg'd by these four fresh Seas, stops or centers here, and so falls above six hundred Foot down into a Gulph, which one cannot look upon without Horror. Two other great Out-lets, or Falls of Water, which are on the two sides of a small sloping Island, which is in the midst, fall gently and without noise, and so glide away quietly enough: But when this prodigious quantity of Water, of which I speak, comes to fall, there is such a din, and such

a noise,

a noiſe, that is more deafning than the loudeſt Thunder.

The rebounding of theſe Waters is ſo great, that a ſort of Cloud ariſes from the Foam of it, which are ſeen hanging over this Abyſs even at Noon-day, when the Sun is at its heighth. In the midſt of Summer, when the Weather is hotteſt, they ariſe above the talleſt Firrs, and other great Trees, which grow in the ſlooping Iſland which make the two Falls of Waters that I ſpoke of.

I wiſh'd an hundred times that ſomebody had been with us, who could have deſcrib'd the Wonders of this prodigious frightful Fall, ſo as to give the Reader a juſt and natural Idea of it, ſuch as might ſatisfy him, and create in him an Admiration of this Prodigy of Nature as great as it deſerves. In the mean time, accept the following Draught, ſuch as it is; in which however I have endeavour'd to give the curious Reader as juſt an Image of it as I could.

We muſt call to mind what I obſerv'd of it in the beginning of my Voyage, which is to be ſeen in the Seventh Chapter of this Book. From the Mouth of the Lake *Erie* to the Great Fall, are reckon'd ſix Leagues, as I have ſaid, which is the continuation of the Great River of *St. Lawrence*, which ariſes out of the four Lakes above-mention'd. The River, you muſt needs think, is very rapid for theſe ſix Leagues, becauſe of the vaſt Diſcharge of Waters which fall into it out of the ſaid Lakes. The Lands, which lie on both ſides of it to the Eaſt and Weſt, are all level from the Lake *Erie* to the Great Fall. Its Banks are not ſteep; on the contrary, the Water is almoſt always level with the Land. 'Tis certain, that the Ground towards the Fall is lower, by the more than ordinary ſwiftneſs of the Stream; and yet 'tis not perceivable to the Eye for the ſix Leagues aboveſaid.

After it has run thus violently for ſix Leagues, it meets

meets with a small sloping Island, about half a quarter of a League long, and near three hundred Foot broad, as well as one can guess by the Eye; for it is impossible to come at it in a Canow of Bark, the Waters run with that force. The Isle is full of Cedar and Firr; but the Land of it lies no higher than that on the Banks of the River. It seems to be all level, even as far as the two great Cascades that make the Main Fall.

The two sides of the Channels, which are made by the Isle, and run on both sides of it, overflow almost the very Surface of the Earth of the said Isle, as well as the Land that lies on the Banks of the River to the East and West, as it runs South and North. But we must observe, that at the end of the Isle, on the side of the two great Falls, there is a slooping Rock which reaches as far as the Great Gulph into which the said Waters fall; and yet the Rock is not at all wetted by the two Cascades which fall on both sides, because the two Torrents which are made by the Isle, throw themselves with a prodigious force, one towards the East, and the other towards the West, from off the end of the Isle, where the Great Fall of all is.

After then these two Torrents have thus run by the two sides of the Isle, they cast their Waters all of a sudden down into the Gulph by two Great Falls; which Waters are push'd so violently on by their own Weight, and so sustain'd by the swiftness of the motion, that they don't wet the Rock in the least. And here it is that they tumble down into an Abyss above 600 Foot in depth.

The Waters that flow on the side of the East, do not throw themselves with that violence as those that fall on the West. The reason is, because the Rock at the end of the Island, rises something more on this side, than it does on the West; and so the Waters being supported by it somewhat longer than they

they are on the other ſide, are carry'd the ſmoother off: But on the Weſt the Rock ſlooping more, the Waters, for want of a Support, become the ſooner broke, and fall with the greater precipitation. Another reaſon is, the Lands that lie on the Weſt are lower than thoſe that lie on the Eaſt. We alſo obſerv'd, that the Waters of the Fall, that is to the Weſt, made a ſort of a ſquare Figure as they fell, which made a third Caſcade, leſs than the other two, which fell betwixt the South and North.

And becauſe there is a riſing Ground which lies before thoſe two Caſcades to the North, the Gulph is much larger there than to the Eaſt. Moreover, we muſt obſerve, that from the riſing Ground that lies over againſt the two laſt Falls which are on the Weſt of the main Fall, one may go down as far as the bottom of this terrible Gulph. The Author of this Diſcovery was down there, the more narrowly to obſerve the Fall of theſe prodigious Caſcades. From hence we could diſcover a Spot of Ground, which lay under the Fall of Water which is to the Eaſt, big enough for four Coaches to drive a breaſt without being wet; but becauſe the Ground, which is to the Eaſt of the ſloping Rock, where the firſt Fall empties it ſelf into the Gulph, is very ſteep, and almoſt perpendicular, 'tis impoſſible for a Man to get down on that ſide, into the Place where the four Coaches may go a-breaſt, or to make his way through ſuch a quantity of Water as falls towards the Gulph: So that 'tis very probable, that to this dry Place it is that the Rattle-Snakes retire, by certain Paſſages which they find under ground.

From the end then of this Iſland it is, that theſe two Great Falls of Waters, as alſo the third but now mention'd, throw themſelves, after a moſt ſurprizing manner, down into a dreadful Gulph ſix hundred Foot and more in depth. I have already ſaid, that the Waters which Diſcharge themſelves at the

Caſcade

Cascade to the East, fall with lesser force; whereas those to the West tumble all at once, making two Cascades; one moderate, the other very violent and strong, which at last make a kind of Crochet, or square Figure, falling from South to North, and West to East. After this, they rejoin the Waters of the other Cascade that falls to the East, and so tumble down altogether, though unequally, into the Gulph, with all the violence that can be imagin'd, from a Fall of six hundred Foot, which makes the most Beautiful, and at the same time most Frightful Cascade in the World.

After these Waters have thus discharg'd themselves into this dreadful Gulph, they begin to resume their Course, and continue the great River of *St. Lawrence* for two Leagues, as far as the three Mountains which are on the East of the River, and the great Rock which is on the West, and lifts it self three Fathoms above the Waters, or thereabouts. The Gulph into which these Waters are discharg'd, continues it self thus two Leagues together, between a Chain of Rocks, flowing with a prodigious Torrent, which is bridled and kept in by the Rocks that lie on each side of the River.

Into this Gulph it is, that these several Cascades empty themselves, with a violence equal to the height from whence they fall, and the quantity of Waters, which they discharge. Hence arise those deafning Sounds, that dreadful roaring and bellowing of the Waters which drown the loudest Thunder, as also the perpetual Mists that hang over the Gulph, and rise above the tallest Pines that are in the little Isle so often mention'd. After a Channel is again made at the bottom of this dreadful Fall by the Chain of Rocks, and fill'd by that prodigious quantity of Waters which are continually falling, the River of *St. Lawrence* resumes its Course: But with that violence, and his Waters beat against the

Rocks

Rocks with so prodigious a force, that 'tis impossible to pass even in a Canow of Bark, though in one of them a Man may venture safe enough upon the most rapid Streams, by keeping close to the Shoar.

These Rocks, as also the prodigious Torrent, last for two Leagues; that is, from the great Fall, to the three Mountains and great Rock: But then it begins insensibly to abate, and the Land to be again almost on a level with the Water; and so it continues as far as the Lake *Ontario*, or *Frontenac*.

When one stands near the Fall, and looks down into this most dreadful Gulph, one is seized with Horror, and the Head turns round, so that one cannot look long or stedfastly upon it. But this vast Deluge beginning insensibly to abate, and even to fall to nothing about the three Mountains, the Waters of the River *St. Lawrence* begin to glide more gently along, and to be almost upon a level with the Lands; so that it becomes navigable again, as far as the Lake *Frontenac*, over which we pass to come to the New Canal, which is made by the discharge of its Waters. Then we enter again upon the River *St. Lawrence*, which not long after makes that which they call the *Long Fall*, an hundred Leagues from *Niagara*.

I have often heard talk of the Cataracts of the *Nile*, which make the People deaf that live near them. I know not whether the *Iroquese*, who formerly inhabited near this Fall, and liv'd upon the Beasts which from time to time are born down by the violence of its Torrent, withdrew themselves from its Neighbourhood, lest they should likewise become deaf; or out of the continual fear they were in of Rattle-Snakes, which are very common in this Place during the great Heats, and lodge in Holes all along the Rocks as far as the Mountains, which lie two Leagues lower.

Be it as it will, these dangerous Creatures are to

be

be met with as far as the Lake *Frontenac*, on the South-side; but because they are never to be seen but in the midst of Summer, and then only when the Heats are excessive, they are not so afraid of them here as elsewhere. However, 'tis reasonable to presume, that the horrid noise of the Fall, and the fear of these poisonous Serpents, might oblige the Savages to seek out a more commodious Habitation.

Having carry'd our Canow from the Great Fall of *Niagara*, as far as the three Mountains, which are two Leagues below, in all which Way we perceiv'd never a Snake; we proceeded in our Voyage, and arriv'd at the Lake of *Ontario*, or *Frontenac*.

CHAP. LXXI.

The Author sets out from the Fort which is at the Mouth of the River Niagara, *and obliges the* Iroquese *assembl'd in Council, to deliver up the Slaves they had made of the* Outtaouacts.

WE met none of the Savages in the little Village of the *Iroquese*, which is near the Mouth of the River *Niagara*; for they sow there but very little *Indian* Corn; and inhabit the Village but in Harvest-time, or in the Season they go a fishing for Sturgeons, or Whiteings which are there in great plenty. We thought also we should find some *Canadians* at the Fort of the River which we had begun to build, at the beginning of our Discovery: But these Forts were only built for a Show, to cover the secret Trade of Furrs, and countenance the great Hopes M. *de la Salle* had given to the *French* Court.

It must be granted, that such Discoveries are beyond any private Mens Power, and they must be coun-

countenanc'd by a Sovereign Authority, to be ſucceſsful. Therefore M. *de la Salle* had got the *French* Court's Protection; but inſtead of making a good uſe of it for the publick Good, he did chiefly aim at his own private Intereſt, and for that reaſon neglected a great many things neceſſary to carry on his Enterprize. The Fort of the River of *Niagara* was become a deſerted Place, and might have ſerv'd to countenance his Deſign. We came along the Southern Coaſts of the Lake *Ontario*, or *Frontenac*; and after having ſailed thirty Leagues, we arriv'd about *Whitſuntide* in the Year 1681. at the great Village of the *Tſonnontouans Iroqueſe*.

The Savages came to meet us, repeating often this Word *Otchitagon*, meaning by it, that the *Bare-foot* was return'd from the great Voyage he had undertook, to viſit the Nations that are beyond the River *Hobio* and *Meſchaſipi*; and though our Faces were burnt by the Sun, and my Clothes patch'd up with wild Bull-Skins, yet they knew me, and carry'd me with my two Men into one of their Officer's Cottages.

They did call their Council, which met to the number of Thirty, or thereabouts, wearing their Gowns in a ſtately manner, made up with all ſorts of Skins, twiſted about their Arms, with the *Calumet* in their Hands. They gave order that we ſhou'd be entertain'd according to their own Faſhion, while they did ſmoak without eating.

After we had done eating, I told them by a *Canadian* that was my Interpreter, that their Warriors had brought 12 *Outtaouacts* as Slaves, though they were their Confederates and *Onontio*'s Friends, ('tis the Name they give to the Viceroy of *Canada*) breaking thereby the Peace, and proclaiming War againſt *Canada*: And the better to oblige them to deliver up to us the *Outtaouacts*, who by good Fortune were ſtill alive, we flung in the middle of the Aſſembly two Collars of Porcelain, that Captain

Talon

Talon had given us; This is the only way among them, to enter upon any Affair.

The next day the Council met, and the *Iroquese* answer'd me with some other Collars of Porcelain; and told me, That those who had made these Men Slaves, were young Warriors without Consideration; That we might assure *Onontio*, (who was then Count *Frontenac*) that their Nation wou'd always respect him in all things; That they shou'd live with him as true Children with their Father, and that they wou'd deliver up the Men who had been taken.

Teganeot, one of the chiefest, who spoke for the whole Nation in the Council, presented me with some Skins of Otter, Martin, and Bever, to the value of thirty Crowns. I took his Present with one Hand, and deliver'd it with the other to his Son, whom he lov'd tenderly. I told him, That I made him that Present, that he might Exchange it with some Merchandizes of *Europe*; and that the *Barefeet* will accept of no Present at all, not out of Contempt, but becaufe we are disinterested in all things; assuring him, I would acquaint the Governor with his Friendship.

The *Iroquese* was surpriz'd that I did not accept of his Present; and seeing besides, that I gave a little Looking-Glass to his Son, he said to those of his Nation, that the other *Canadians* were not of that Temper: And they sent us several Fowls, as an acknowledgment of their Gratitude for the care we took, to teach their Children some Prayers in their own Tongue. After the Promises the Savages gave us to live in good correspondency with us, we took our leave of them, and got our selves ready, in order to continue our Voyage.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXII.

The Author sets out from the Tsonnontouans Iroquese, *and comes to Fort* Frontenac.

I Must confess it is a great Pleasure for one to come out of Slavery, or the Hands of Savages, and to reflect upon past Miseries; especially when he returns among Friends, to rest himself after so many Hardships and Troubles.

We had still about Fourscore Leagues to go upon the Lake *Ontario*, before we cou'd arrive at Fort *Catarokoui*, or *Frontenac*; but we were all the Way very merry. I had help'd *Picard du Gay* and *Michael Ako*, my Fellow-Travellers, with some Skins, to make amends for the Hardship and Pains they suffer'd in that Voyage. We had much ado to row off our Canow, it being much bigger than that we made use of when we set out from the *Issati* and *Nadoueſsians*; but nevertheless we came in four Days to the Fort, and kill'd in our way some Bustards and Teals. We wanted then neither Powder nor Shot, and therefore we shot at random all that we met, either small Birds, or Turtles, and Wood-Pigeons, which were then coming from Foreign Countries in so great Numbers, that they did appear in the Air like Clouds.

I observ'd upon this Occasion, and many other times during our Voyage, a thing worthy of Admiration: The Birds that were flying at the Head of the others, keep often back, to ease and help those among them that are tir'd; which may be a Lesson to Men to help one another in time of need. Father *Luke Buisset*, and Sergeant *la Fleur*, who had the Command in the Fort in the Absence of M. *la Salle*, receiv'd us in the House of our Order, that we had built together.

They were much surpriz'd to see us, having been told that the Savages had hang'd me with St. *Francis*'s Rope two Years ago. All the Inhabitants of *Canada*, and the Savages that we had encourag'd to live near Fort *Frontenac*, to Till the Ground, made me an extraordinary Reception, and shew'd much Joy to see me again. The Savages put their Hand upon their Mouth, and repeated often this Word, *Otkon*, meaning, That the *Bare-foot* must be a Spirit, having travell'd so far, through so many Nations that wou'd have kill'd them, if they had been there. Tho' we were kindly us'd in this Fort, yet my Men had a great Mind to return into *Canada*; and having escap'd so many Dangers together, I was willing to make an End of the Voyage with them; therefore we took leave of Father *Luke Buisset*, and of all our Friends that liv'd in that Fort, and went for *Quebec*.

CHAP. LXXIII.

The Author sets out from Fort Frontenac, *and passes over the rapid Stream, which is call'd,* The Long Fall. *He is kindly receiv'd at* Montreal *by Count* Frontenac.

WE set out from the Fort sooner than I thought, not being able to keep any longer my Men, and in our Way took a more exact View of the Mouth of the Lake *Ontario*, or *Frontenac*. This Place is call'd *Thousand Islands*, because there are so many of them, that 'tis impossible to tell them. The Stream is here very rapid; but its Swiftness is prodigiously increas'd, by the great Quantity of Waters that come from the other Lakes abovemention'd, and a great many Rivers that run into this, in the Place call'd, *The Long Fall*, which makes it as dreadful as the great Fall of *Niagara*.

But besides this great Quantity of Waters, and the Declivity of the Channel, which makes the Current so rapid, there are also on the Banks, and in the middle of the River of St. *Laurence*, about eight or Ten Leagues below the said Lake, great Rocks, which appear above Water, which stopping the Stream of the River, makes as great a Noise as the great Fall of *Niagara*.

This dreadful Encounter of Water that beats so furiously against these Rocks, continues about two Leagues, the Waters spurt up ten or twelve Yards high, and appear like huge Snow-Balls, Hail, and Rain, with dreadful Thunder, and a Noise like Hissing and Howling of Fierce Beasts: And I do certainly believe, that if a Man continued there a considerable time, he wou'd become Deaf, without any Hope of Cure.

My Men refusing to carry by Land the Canow, and the Skins they had got, I was forc'd to adventure with them; which I did willingly, having formerly pass'd these Streams in a Canow: I trusted my self again to the same GOD who had deliver'd me from so many great Dangers. The Stream is so rapid, that we cou'd not tell the Trees that were on the Bank, and yet there was hardly room for our Canow to pass between the Rocks. We were carri'd away by these horrid Currents above two great Leagues in a very short time; and in two Days we came from *Frontenac* to *Montreal*, which are about Threescore Leagues distant one from another. Before our landing at *Montreal*, my Men desir'd me to leave them with the Skins in a neighbouring Island, to save some Duties, or rather to keep off from M. *la Salle*'s Creditors, who wou'd have seiz'd the Commodities they had got in their long Voyage with me in our great Discovery.

Count *Frontenac*, who was at *Montreal*, looking out of a Window, saw me alone in a Canow, and took me for Father *Luke Fillatre*, one of our *Recollects*, who serv'd him as Chaplain. But one of his Guards, knowing me again, went to him, and acquainted him with my coming; he was so kind as to come to meet me, and made me the best Reception that a Missionary might expect from a Person of that Rank and Quality. He thought I had been murther'd by the Savages two Years ago. He was at first surpriz'd, thinking I was some other *Recollect* that came from *Virginia*: But at last he knew me, and gave me a very kind Entertainment.

This Lord did wonder to see me so much alter'd, being lean, tir'd, and tann'd, having lost my Cloak that the *Issati* had stoll'n from me, being then cloath'd in an old Habit, patch'd up with pieces of wild Bulls-Skins. He carri'd me to his own House, where I continu'd for twelve Days to refresh my self. He forbad all his Servants to give me any thing to eat, without his express Order, because he was afraid I shou'd fall sick if I was left to my own Discretion, to eat as much as I wou'd after so long Hardships; and he gave me himself what he thought was best.

He was much pleas'd to hear me talk of all the Hazards I had run in so long a Voyage among so many different Nations. I represented to him what great Advantages might be got by our Discovery: But having observ'd that he was always repeating the same Questions he ask'd me the first Day I was with him, I told him I had acquainted him with what I knew; and that I did not question but M. *la Salle*, who was to go to the Court of *France* about his Affairs, had acquainted him with all the Particulars of our Voyage, having been in our Company till he was forc'd to leave us to return into *Canada*.

I knew

I knew that M. *la Salle* was a Man that wou'd never forgive me, if I had told all that I knew of our Voyage; therefore I kept ſecret the whole Diſcovery we had made of the River *Meſchaſipi*. My Men were as much concern'd as I, in concealing our Voyage; for they had been certainly puniſh'd for having undertaken it againſt Orders; and the Skins they had got in their return from the *Iſſati* with M. *du Luth*, who did ſtay for that reaſon among the *Outtaouacts*, had likewiſe been confiſcated.

Count *Frontenac* ſhew'd me in private a Letter M. *du Luth* had ſent him by a *Huron*, who liv'd in the Neighbourhood of the *Outtaouacts*, by which he acquainted him, he cou'd never learn any thing about our Voyage, neither from me, nor from the Men who attended me. I cou'd not forbear then to tell him, that M. *du Luth* was not ſo much devoted to his Service as he thought; and that I might aſſure him that ſome Men that were his Opponents, had ſtopp'd M. *du Luth*'s Mouth; and that I was fully perſuaded he had been ſent by them with a ſecret Order, to pump me; but I was bound by my Character, and in Charity, to ſpare thoſe Men, tho' on many Occaſions they had not dealt ſo juſtly with me; but I was willing to leave all to God, who *will render to every one according to his Works.*

Francis de Laval, the firſt Lord Biſhop of *Quebec*, came along the River *St. Laurence*, to make his Viſitation, while I was coming to *Quebec* with the Lord *Frontenac*. We met him near Fort *Champlein*, which had been fortifi'd, to put a Stop to the Inroads of the *Iroqueſe*: The Lord *Frontenac* ask'd me, if I had got an Ague; and then looking upon thoſe that attended him, he ſaid, that the feeling of the Pulſe increas'd the Fever; inſinuating to me thereby, that there was a Deſign laid againſt me, to get out cunningly what I kept ſecret in my Heart.

After a short Conversation with the Bishop, I ask'd his Episcopal Blessing, tho' I did not think fit to reveal to him all that I knew of our Discoveries. We were going to discourse more largely upon this Subject, when the Lord *Frontenac* came in, to invite the Bishop to Dine with him, and thereby to give me an opportunity to put an end to our Conversation.

I was much puzzl'd in the Company of these two Great Men, the Bishop was the Chief of the Company; but I was yet to pay a great Respect to the Lord *Frontenac*. I did avoid talking of Matters that might be troublesome to me; and I told the Bishop, that the Lord *Frontenac* had prescrib'd me a Course of Diet, lest I shou'd fall sick, after all the Hardships I had endur'd, and the bad Food I fed upon among the Savages; therefore I desir'd him to give me leave to return to *Quebec*, that I might live there in private; for I was not able then to Catechise the Children, nor to perform any Functions of a Missionary in his Visitation; and that I wanted some Rest, that I might work more vigorously afterwards. By these Means I avoided a Conversation with the Bishop, that wou'd have prov'd very troublesome, to me; for he gave me leave to retire to our Monastery, to rest there after all my Fatigues.

CHAP. LXXIV.

A great Defeat of the Illinois, *that were attack'd and surpriz'd by the* Iroquese.

WHile I was resting after my great Labours, the Lord *Frontenac* did receive Letters from Father *Zenobe Mambre*, whom I left among the *Illinois*. He sent him Word, that the *Iroquese* had drawn the *Miamis* into their Party; and that being join'd together, they had form'd a great Army, and were fall'n on a sudden upon the *Illinois*, to destroy that Nation; and that they were got together to the number of Nine hundred, all Fusiliers; these two Nations being well provided with Guns, and all sort of Ammunitions of War, by the Commerce they have with the *Europeans*.

The *Iroquese* were projecting this Enterprize about the 12th of *September*, 1680. while I was about the Discovery of the River *Meschasipi*. The *Illinois* did not mistrust them; for they had concluded a Treaty of Peace with these two Nations; and M. *la Salle* had assur'd them, that he wou'd do his utmost Endeavours to oblige them to observe the Treaty; therefore the *Illinois* were easily surpriz'd, having sent most part of their Youth to make War in another Country.

A *Chaouanon*, Confederate to the *Illinois*, returning from their Country home, came back again, to give them notice that he had discover'd an Army of *Iroquese* and *Miamis*, who were already enter'd into their Country on purpose to surprize them.

This News frighted the *Illinois*; yet the next Day they appear'd in the Field, and march'd directly to the Enemy; and as soon as they were in sight, they charg'd them. The Fight was very sharp,

and a great many Men were kill'd on both sides.

M. *Tonti*, whom M. *la Salle* had left in the Fort of *Crevecœur*, to command there in his Absence, hearing of this Irruption, was in fear for the *Illinois*'s sake; for though their Army was more numerous than that of their Enemy, yet they had no Guns; therefore he offer'd himself to go *Aiskenon*, that is *Mediator*, carrying the *Calumet* of Peace in his Hand, in order to bring them to an Agreement.

The *Iroquese* finding more resistance than they thought at first, and seeing that the *Illinois* were resolv'd to continue the War, consented to a Treaty of Peace, accepting Mr. *Tonti*'s Mediation, and hearken'd to the Proposals he made them from the *Illinois*, who had chosen him for Mediator.

M. *Tonti* represented to them, that the *Illinois* were *Onontio*'s ('tis the Name they give to the Viceroy of *Canada*) Children and Confederates as well as themselves; and that it wou'd be very unpleasant to him, who lov'd them all, to hear that they had begun the War; therefore he earnestly intreated them to return home, and trouble the *Illinois* no further, seeing they had religiously observ'd the Treaty of Peace.

These Proposals did not please some of the young *Iroquese*, who had a great mind to fight, and therefore charg'd on a sudden M. *Tonti* and his Men with several Shots; and a desperate young Fellow of the Country of *Onnontaghe*, gave him a Wound with a Knife, near the Heart; but by chance a Rib warded off the Stroke: Several others did fall upon him, and wou'd take him away; but one taking notice of his Hat, and that his Ears were not bor'd, knew thereby that he was not an *Illinois*, and for that reason an old Man cry'd out, That they shou'd

spare

ſpare him; and flung to him a Collar of Porcelain, meaning thereby to make him Satisfaction for the Blood he had loſt, and the Wound he had receiv'd.

A young Man of the *Iroqueſe*'s Crew, took M. *Tonti*'s Hat, and hung it on his Gun, to fright the *Illinois* therewith; who thinking by that Signal that *Tonti*, Father *Zenobe*, and all the *Europeans* that were in his Company, had been kill'd by the *Iroqueſe*, were ſo much ſurpriz'd and diſquieted with that horrid Attempt, that they fanci'd themſelves deliver'd up into the Hands of their Enemies, and were upon running away: Yet the *Iroqueſe* having made a Signal to Father *Zenobe* to draw near, that they might confer with him about the means to prevent both Armies to come to fight, they receiv'd the *Calumet* of Peace, and made a Motion as if they had a mind to withdraw: But the *Illinois* were hardly come to their Village, before that they ſaw the *Iroqueſe*'s Army appearing upon ſome Hills, which were over-againſt them.

This Motion oblig'd Father *Zenobe*, at the *Illinois*'s Requeſt, to go to them to know the reaſon of a Proceeding ſo contrary to what they had done in accepting of the *Calumet* of Peace. But that Embaſſy did not pleaſe thoſe Barbarians, who wou'd not loſe ſo fair an Opportunity. Father *Zenobe* did run the hazard of being murther'd by theſe unmerciful Men; yet the ſame God who had preſerv'd many of our Fellow-Miſſionaries in the like Encounters, and my ſelf in this Diſcovery, kept him from the Hand of theſe furious Men. He was a Man of a ſhort Stature, but very couragious, and went boldly among the *Iroqueſe*, who receiv'd him very civilly.

They told him, that the Want they were reduc'd to, had forc'd them to this new Step, having no Proviſions for their Army, and their great Number having driven away the Wild-Bulls from that Country.

Father

Father *Zenobe* brought their Answer to the *Illinois*, who presently sent them some *Indian* Corn, and all things necessary for their Subsistence, and propos'd to them a Treaty of Commerce, having in that Country a great plenty of Beaver's Skins, and other Furrs.

The *Iroquese* accepted of these Proposals; they did exchange Hostages, and Father *Zenobe* went into their Camp, and did lie there, to lose no time to bring all Matters to an Agreement, and conclude a Treaty between them. But the *Iroquese* repairing in great Numbers into the Quarters of the *Illinois*, who suspected no ill Design, they advanc'd as far as their Village, where they wasted the *Mausolæums* that they us'd to raise to their Dead, which are commonly seven or eight Foot high: They spoil'd the *Indian* Corn that was sown; and having deceiv'd the *Illinois*, under a false pretence of Peace, fortifi'd themselves in their Village.

In this Confusion the *Iroquese* join'd with the *Miamis*, carri'd away eight hundred *Illinois* Women and Children; and their Fury went so far, that these *Antropophages* did eat some Old Men of that Nation, and burnt some others who were not able to follow them, and so return'd with the Slaves they had made, to their own Habitations, which were four hundred Leagues off the Country they had so cruelly plunder'd.

Upon the first News of the Approach of the *Iroquese*, the *Illinois* had sent most part of their Families to the other side of a little Hill, to secure them from their Fury, and that they might get over the River *Meschasipi*; and the others that were fit for War, did flock together on the Tops of the Hills that were near their Habitations, and then went to the other side of the River, to look after their Families, and provide for their Subsistence.

After

After this perfidious Expedition, these Barbarians wou'd fain alledge some Pretences to excuse their Treachery, and wou'd persuade our Fathers to retire from the *Illinois*'s Country, since they were all fled away; and that there was no likelihood they shou'd want them for the future to teach them their Prayers, as the *Atsientatsi*, or the Black-Gowns do in their Countries, meaning the Jesuits, whom they call by that Name. They told Fathers *Gabriel* and *Zenobe*, that they should do better to return into *Canada*, and that they would attempt nothing against the Life of the Children of *Onontio*, Governor of *Canada*, desiring to have a Letter under their Hand, to shew it as a Testimony of their honest proceeding in this occasion, and assuring them that they would no more stand by their Enemies.

Our two Fathers being so forsaken by their Hosts, and finding themselves expos'd to the Fury of a Cruel and Victorious Enemy, resolv'd to return home, according to the *Iroquese* Advice; and being suppli'd by them with a Canow, they embark'd for *Canada*.

CHAP. LXXVII.

The Savages Kikapoux *murther Father* Gabriel de la Ribourde, *a Recollect Missionary.*

GOD has given me the Grace to be insensible of the Wrong I have suffer'd from my Enemies, and to be thankful for the Kindnesses I have receiv'd from my Friends. But if ever I had reason to be thankful to those that have taken care of my Instruction, certainly I must confess it was to this Good Father *Gabriel*, who was my Master during my Novitiate in the Monastery of our Order at *Bethune*, in the Province of *Artois*; therefore I think,

think, that I am bound in Duty to mention so Honest a Man in this Relation of my Discovery, especially having had so sad a Share therein, as to be murder'd by the Savages *Kikapoux*, as I will relate it.

It must be observ'd, That M. *Tonti* could stay no longer at Fort *Crevecœur*, after the *Illinois* Defeat; therefore he desir'd Fathers *Gabriel* and *Zenobe* to get, with two young Boys that were left there, into a Canow, and return into *Canada*. All the rest of the Inhabitants had deserted that Country since that unfortunate Accident, by the Suggestion of some Men of *Canada*, who were the Predominant *Genius* of the Country, who had flatter'd them with great Hopes, to oblige them to forsake M. *de la Salle*'s Design.

Our said Fathers being so forc'd to leave that Country after such a Defeat, embark'd the 18th of *September* following, wanting all sorts of Provisions, except what they could kill with their Guns; but being arriv'd about eight Leagues from the *Illinois*, their Canow touching upon a Rock, let in Water, and so were forc'd to land about Noon to mend it.

While they were about careening the same, Father *Gabriel*, charm'd with the fine Meadows, the little Hills, and the pleasant Groves in that Country, which are dispers'd at such distances, that they look as if they had been planted on purpose to adorn the Country, went so far into those Woods, that he lost his Way. At Night Father *Zenobe* went to look after him, as also the rest of the Company; for he was generally lov'd by all that knew him. But M. *Tonti* was suddenly seiz'd with panick Fears, thinking that every moment the *Iroquese* wou'd fall upon him: So that he sent for Father *Zenobe*, and forc'd all his Men to retire into the Canow, and so got over the River on the *Illinois*-side, and left the

the Old Father expos'd to the Barbarians Insults, without any respect to his Age, or to his Personal Merits.

'Tis true, that in the Evening one of the Young Men that were in the Canow with Father *Zenobe*, fir'd a Gun by M. *Tonti*'s Order, and lighted a great Fire; but all was in vain.

The next Day, M. *Tonti* seeing he had behav'd himself cowardly on this occasion, went back again by break of Day to the Place where we had left the Day before Father *Gabriel*, and continu'd there till Noon looking after the poor Christian. But though some of his Men enter'd into the Groves, where they saw the fresh Steps of a Man, which were also printed in the Meadows along the Bank of the River, they could never hear of him. M. *Tonti* said since, to excuse himself for having so basely forsaken Father *Gabriel*, That he thought the *Iroquese* had laid an Ambuscade to surprize him; for they had seen him flying away, and they might fancy he had declar'd himself for the *Illinois*.

But M. *Tonti* might have remember'd he had given his Letters for *Canada* to these *Iroquese*; and that if they had form'd any Design upon his Life, they would have executed it when he was among them: But they were so far from it, that when he was wounded, they presented him with a Collar of Porcelain; which they never do but when some unlucky Accidents happen. The Savages don't use so much circumspection; and therefore this Excuse is groundless and frivolous. Father *Zenobe* has left us in Writing, That he would stay for Father *Gabriel*: But M. *Tonti* forc'd him to embark at Three a Clock in the Afternoon; saying, That certainly he had been kill'd by the Enemies, or else he was gone a-foot along the Banks of the River; and that they would see him in their way. However, they could hear

nothing

nothing of him; and the farther they went, the greater Father *Zenobe*'s Afflictions grew. They were then in such a want of Provisions, that they had nothing to feed upon but Potatoes, Wild Garlick, and some small Roots they had scratch'd out of the Ground with their own Fingers.

We have heard since, that Father *Gabriel* had been kill'd a little while after his landing. The Nation of the *Kikapoux*, who, as one may see in our Map, inhabit to the Westward of the Bay of *Puans*, had sent their Youth to make War against the *Iroquese*; but hearing that these Barbarians were got into the Country of the *Illinois*, they went seeking about to surprize them. Three *Kikapoux*, making the Vanguard, met with Father *Gabriel*, and came up to him as near as they could, hiding themselves among the Grass, which is very high in that Country; and though they knew he was not an *Iroquese*, yet they knock'd him down with their Clubs, call'd *Head-breakers*, which are made of a very hard Wood. They left his Body on the spot, and carri'd away his Breviary and Journal, which since came to the Hands of a Jesuite, whom I will mention in my other Volume, wherein I design to speak of the First Introduction of the Faith into *Canada*. These Barbarians took off the Skin of his Head, and carri'd it in triumph to their Village, giving out that it was the Hair of an *Iroquese* whom they had kill'd.

Thus di'd this Good Old Man; to whom we may apply what the Scripture says of those whom *Herod* in his Fury caus'd to be Slain, *Non erat qui sepeliret*; There was no body to Bury him. This Worthy Man was wont in the Lessons he made us in our Novitiate, to prepare us against the like Accidents by Mortifications: And it seems that he had some foresight of what befel him. So Good a Man deserv'd a Better Fate, if a Better might be wish'd for,

than

than to die in the Functions of an Apostolical Mission, by the Hands of those same Nations, to whom the Divine Providence had sent him to convert them.

Father *Gabriel* was about 65 Years old. He had not only liv'd an exemplary Life, such as our Good Fathers do, but had also perform'd all the Duties of the Employments he had in that Order, either when he was at home Guardian, Superior, Inferior, and Master of the Novices; or abroad when he was in *Canada*, where he continu'd from the Year 1670, until his Death. I understood several times by his Discourses, that he he was much oblig'd to the *Flemings*, who had maintain'd him a long time: He often talk'd to us about it, to inspire us, by his Example, with some Sentiments of Gratitude towards our Benefactors. I have seen him mov'd with Grief, considering that so many Nations liv'd in the Ignorance of the Way to Salvation; and he was willing to lose his Life, to deliver them out of their Stupidity.

The *Iroquese* said of him, That he had been brought to bed, because his Great Belly was become flat by his frequent Fastings, and the Austerity of his Life.

M. *Tonti* can never clear himself of his Baseness, for forsaking Father *Gabriel*, under pretence of being afraid of the *Iroquese*: For though they are a Wild Nation, yet they lov'd that Good Old Man, who had been often among them: But M. *Tonti* might bear him some Secret Grudge; because Father *Gabriel*, after the *Illinois* Defeat, seeing that M. *Tonti* had over-laden the Canow with Beavers-Skins, so that there was no room for him, he did throw many of these Skins to the *Iroquese*, to shew them that he was not come into that Country to get Skins or other Commodities.

Father

Father *Zenobe* had neither Credit nor Courage enough to persuade M. *Tonti* to stay a while for that Good Father, who was thus sacrific'd to secure some Beavers-Skins. I do not doubt but the Death of that *venerable* Old Man was very precious in the sight of God, and I hope it will produce one time or other its Effects, when it shall please God to set forth his Mercy towards these Wild Nations; and I do wish it might please him to make use of a feeble means, as I am, to finish what I have, through His Grace, and with Labour, so happily begun.

CHAP. LXXVI.

The Author's Return from his Discovery, to Quebec; *and what hapned at his Arrival at the Convent of Our* Lady of Angels *near that Town.*

COunt *Frontenac*, Viceroy of *Canada*, gave me two of his Guards, who understood very well to manage a Canow, to carry me to *Quebec*. We set out from *Champlein*'s Fort, mention'd above; and being near the Town, I landed, and went a-foot through the Lands newly grubb'd up, to our Monastery, bidding the Guards to carry the Canow along with them.

I would not land at *Quebec*, because the Bishop had given order to his Vicar-General to receive me in his Episcopal Palace, that he might have more time to enquire about our Great Discovery: But Count *Frontenac* had expressly order'd his Major that was in the Town, to prevent that Meeting, and to take care that I might first be brought to our Monastery, to confer with Father *Valentin de Roux*, a Man of great Understanding, and Provincial-Commissary of the Recollects in *Canada*.

There

There was then in our Monastery of Our *Lady of Angels*, but Three Missionaries with the said Commissary; all the rest were dispers'd up-and-down in several Missions above a hundred Leagues from *Quebec*. One may easily imagine that I was welcome to our Monastery; Father *Hilarion Jeunet* seem'd surpriz'd, and told me with a smiling Countenance, *Lazare veni foras*. Whereupon I ask'd him why he did apply to me what had been said of *Lazarus*? To which he answer'd, that two Years ago a Mass of *Requiem* had been sung for me in the Monastery, because some Savages had given out for certain, to a Black Gown, *i. e.* a Jesuit, That the Nation whom the *Iroquese* call *Hontouagaha*, had hung me to a Tree with St. *Francis*'s Rope; and that two Men who accompani'd me, had been also in a very cruel manner put to Death by the same Savages.

Here I must confess, That all Men have their Friends and their Enemies. There are some Men who, like the Fire that blackens the Wood it cannot burn, must needs raise Stories against their Neighbours; and therefore some having not been able to get me into their Party, spread abroad this Rumour of my Death, to stain my Reputation; and that Noise had given occasion to several Discourses in *Canada* to my Prejudice. However, (for I will, if it please God, declare my Mind farther upon this matter in another Volume) I ought to acknowledge that God has preserv'd me by a sort of Miracle, in this great and dangerous Voyage, of which you have an Account in this Volume. And when I think on it with attention, I am persuaded that Providence has kept me for publishing to the World the Great Discoveries I have made in Eleven Years time, or thereabouts, that I have liv'd in the *West-Indies*.

It must be observ'd, That a great many Men meddle with Business that don't belong to them, and will conceive a Jealousy against those that won't conform to their Humour. The Provincial-Commissary, of whom I have spoken before, was very urgent to have a Copy of the Journal of the Discovery I had made in a Voyage of almost four Years, telling me he would keep it secret. I took his Word; for I thought, and I think still, he was a Man of Honour and Probity. Besides, I did consider that he could instruct the Bishop of *Quebec*, and Count *Frontenac*, with what they had a mind to know of this Discovery, and satisfy them both, without exposing my self.

For this purpose were intended all the Care he took of me, and all the extraordinary Civilities he did shew me, in entertaining me with all he could get then, and calling me often the *Rais'd-again*. He desir'd me to return into *Europe*, to acquaint the Publick with the great Discoveries I had made, and that by this way I should avoid the Jealousy of these two Men; that it was very difficult to please two Masters, whose Employment and Interests were so different.

He had then, before my Return into *Europe*, all the time that was necessary to Copy out my whole Voyage on the River *Meschasipi*, which I had undertook against M. *de la Salle*'s Opinion, who has made since a Voyage from the *Illinois* to the Gulph of *Mexico*, in the Year 1682. and two Years after me. He had had some suspicion I had made that Voyage; yet he could not know the Truth of it at my Return to Fort *Frontenac*, because he had then undertook a Voyage to the *Outouagamis*, not knowing whether the Savages had murther'd me, as it had been given out.

I follow'd our Commissary's Advice, and the Resolution to return into *Europe*; but before I set out,

I shew'd

I shew'd him that it was absolutely necessary for the Settlement of Colonies in our Discoveries, and make some progress towards the establishing of the Gospel, to keep all these several Nations in peace, even the most remote, and assist them against the *Iroquese*, who are their Common Enemies: That these Barbarians never make a True Peace with those that they have once beaten, or they hope to overcome, in spreading Divisions among them; that the common Maxim of the *Iroquese* had always been such, and by this means they had destroy'd above Two Millions of Souls.

The Provincial-Commissary agreed with me upon all this, and told me that for the future he should give me all the necessary Instructions for that purpose.

I will give an Account, if it please God, in my Second Volume, of the Ways and Measures that are to be taken for the establishing of the Faith among the many Nations of so different Languages; and how good Colonies might be setled in those great Countries, which might be call'd the Delights of *America*, and become one of the greatest Empires in the World.

F I N I S.

A

CONTINUATION,

OF THE

New Discovery

OF A

Vast Country in AMERICA,

Extending above Four Thousand Miles,

BETWEEN

New France *and* New Mexico;

Giving an

ACCOUNT

OF THE

Attempts of the Sieur *De la SALLE* upon the Mines of *St. Barbe*, &c. The Taking of *Quebec* by the *English*; With the Advantages of a Shorter Cut to *China* and *Japan*.

By *L. Hennepin*, now Resident in *Holland*.

To which are added, Several *New Discoveries* in *North-America*, not publish'd in the *French* Edition.

LONDON, Printed for *M. Bentley*, *J. Tonson*, *H. Bonwick*, *T. Goodwin*, and *S. Manship*. 1698.

To His Majesty

William III.

By the Grace of God

King of *Great Britain.*

SIR,

HIS Catholick Majesty, His Electoral Highness of *Bavaria*, and the Superiors of my Order having given me leave to come into these happy Provinces, according to Your Majesty's direction, to publish the Discoveries I have made in *Ame-*

rica; and Your Majesty having been graciously pleased to accept my first Volume, I make bold to offer You also this Second Part; wherein I insert the Travels of a Gentleman whom I have accompanied several Years, and whose violent Death, by the Hands of his own Men, disappointed the great Designs he had formed upon the Mines of St. *Barbe* in *New Mexico*. The Observations I make upon his Voyage will shew unto Posterity, that a Man must never be ungratefull to his Friends, nor revenge himself of his Enemies, but as much as it concerns the Publick Good, which ought always to prevail upon the private Interest.

This is a Character peculiar to the Illustrious House of *Nassau*, who has formerly fill'd the *Roman* Imperial Throne, and who is now cloathed in Your Majesty's Person with a Royal Power over Three great Kingdoms, and other

other large Dominions which form the *Britiſh* Empire.

All the World agrees, that Nature and Grace have happily conſpir'd to unite in Your Sacred Perſon all the Chriſtian, Political and Military Virtue of Your Renowned Anceſtors. The great Elevation of Your *Genius*, which has manifeſted it ſelf by Your noble and generous Deſigns; Your Generoſity and Liberality ſo worthy of Your Illuſtrious Birth; Your noble Inclination to do good to all Men, even to Your Enemies themſelves, and the unparallell'd Conſtancy and greatneſs of Soul which You have expreſs'd in the greateſt Adverſities, the true Touchſtone of true Merit, are ſo conſpicuous, that every one is convinc'd of Your Majeſty's Magnanimity, Valour, Juſtice, Equity, Sincerity and Piety.

Your Majeſty ſignaliz'd the Love You had for Your own Country, when

You took the Command of the Armies of the States General againſt a powerfull and victorious Conquerour, whom Your Majeſty forced to abandon almoſt in one Day the Conqueſt he had made in the united Provinces. All the World admir'd Your Valour, and more ſtill Your unparallell'd Prudence, which no body expected in ſuch a degree from a Prince of Three and twenty Years of Age.

Never Prince was more maſter of that nice Art of ſoftening the different Tempers of Nations, managing their different Intereſt, giving Life to their Reſolutions, and therefore no Prince had been able hitherto to form and cement ſuch an Alliance as we ſee at this Day for the ſafety of *Europe*. Thoſe great Qualities and incomparable Virtues make Your Majeſty the Darling of Your People and the Terror of Your Enemies, and keep Rebels and Factiouſmen in awe, when Your Majeſty's

abſence

abſence out of Your own Kingdoms ſeems to give them a fair Opportunity to diſturb the Tranquility of *Great Britain:* As You aſcended the Throne without any effuſion of Blood, God, whoſe Glory has been always Your chiefeſt Care, having been pleaſed to crown with a glorious and unexpected Succeſs, the Equity of Your Intentions, ſo Mercy and Clemency have been ever ſince the Baſis of it, notwithſtanding the many repeated Provocations of ill-diſpoſed Perſons, whoſe Obſtinacy deſerv'd to be puniſh'd.

The Confederate Princes having choſen Your Majeſty for their *Generaliſſimo*, and given proof in their choice both of the Reſpect and Truſt they have in Your Majeſty, nothing ſeems wanting to compleat Your Glory but to procure to *Europe* a ſolid and laſting Peace, which we hope is near at hand, and which will ſhew Your Majeſty's incomparable Prudence and Wiſdom, as

the management of the War has shown Your Valour and Magnanimity. The so much admir'd Prudence of *Cæsar*, and the Valour of *Alexander*, come very short of what Your Majesty has already expres's'd, and all impartial Men will agree, that Your Majesty has exceeded the most famous Heroes mentioned in History; but I must leave off this Subject for fear of offending Your *Modesty*, which is an inseparable Companion of all great Souls.

I must beg Your Majesty's Pardon for the Liberty I take to complain against some Inhabitants of this City of *Utrecht*, who, though of the same Religion as I am, endeavour to render me odious, because, being a *Franciscan*, I have dedicated to Your Majesty two Volumes of the Discovery I have made in *America*. They ought to know that I have done nothing but by Your Majesty's Permission and that of the States, and therefore they

have not a due reſpect for Your Sacred Majeſty and their High and Mightineſſes. I hope thoſe very Perſons will acknowledge one time or other their miſtake and the ſincerity of my Intentions, which are ſuch, that I may confidently ſay, I propoſe nothing to my ſelf but the Glory of God, and to find out, under Your Majeſty's Protection, a Paſſage into *China* and *Japan* without croſſing twice the Line, which the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* have ſo often vainly attempted, through the Frozen Sea: I hope, Sir, through the Aſſiſtance of God, and the Favour of Your Majeſty, to ſucceed in my Deſign, and diſcover it before the end of this Age.

By theſe means a great many Barbarous Nations will be brought to the knowledge of the true God and their Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt, which I am ſure is a ſufficient motive for Your Majeſty to give all Incouragement for this Undertaking; for being convinc'd of

Your

Your Majesty's Piety, I need not use for an Argument the Temporal Advantages, that will accrue thereby to Your Kingdoms.

That God be pleased to bless Your Majesty with all sorts of Prosperities, Your Undertakings with a glorious Success, and Your Subjects with an everlasting Felicity, is and will always be the Prayer of,

SIR,

Your Majesty's most Humble

and most Obedient Servant,

F. Lewis Hennepin,

Missionary Recollect and Notary Apostolick.

THE

THE PREFACE.

I Need not make a long Preface to this Book, the Subject Matter thereof is able to recommend it self to the perusal of all Inquisitive Readers. The World, tho' unjust in most cases, do however Justice to Travellers, and the Accounts of their Voyages meet, generally speaking, with a more favourable Reception than any other Performances. This is a kind of Reward to Travellers for the unspeakable Fatigues they have suffer'd. Notwithstanding I have not travelled through Polite Nations, nor seen any wonderfull Edifices in the Countries I have discovered, I have met with that Reward; the Description of the Cabins of Reeds and Rushes, which are the Habitations of above 200 Nations unknown before me, have been as acceptable to Ingenious Readers as the Description of their noble Palaces and Temples of China *in some other Authors. My Description of* Louisiania *was printed several times, and the late*

late Volume I published has met with such a Reception, that I may presume this will have the same fate. And really the Discovery of 200 *different Nations unknown hitherto to the* Europeans *is, one would think, a fit Subject to excite any one's Curiosity.*

I would therefore break off my Preface in this place, were I not obliged to answer some false Accusations my Enemies have raised against me, and because I am in a Religious Order, I think fit to begin with inserting two Attestations or Certificates of Fathers of my own Order, which will prevent some further Calumnies on that Point.

I Underwritten certify to have read and examined a Book entituled, *A Description of Louisiana*, newly discovered to the *South-west* of *New France*, with an Account of the Manners of the Savages of that Country, written by Father *Hennepin* a Recollect Preacher, and Apostolick Missionary, and to have found nothing therein contrary to Faith or good Manners, but that on the contrary, the said Book contains many Reflections and Remarks, which may be of great use for the Conversion of the Savages, and the Advantages of the Kingdom. Given at our Covent of Recollects in *Paris*, *December* 13. 1682.

F. Cesaree Harveau *Lector in Divinity, Father Provincial and Custos of the Recollects of the Province of St.* Denys *in* France.

I have

The PREFACE.

I Have read a Book entituled, *A Deſcription of Louiſiana*, newly diſcovered to the *South-weſt* of *New France*, with an Account of the Manners of the Savages of that Country, in which I have found nothing but what is conformable to the Faith of the Catholick, Apoſtolick and *Roman* Church, the Laws of the Kingdom, and good Manners; and it may be very uſefull towards eſtabliſhing the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt in that new World, and extending the Empire of our Monarch in that fertile and delicious Country. Given at St. *Germain en Laye* in our Covent of Recollects, *December* 14, 1682.

F. Innocent Micault *Definitor of the Recollects of the Province of St.* Denys *in* France, *and General Commiſſioner in the Province of Recollects of St.* Anthony *in* Artois.

Having premiſed theſe two Certificates, I come now to anſwer the Objections my Enemies urge againſt me.

1. *How, ſay they, can a* Franciſcan, *and conſequently a Prieſt of the Church of* Rome, *ſollicit a Proteſtant Prince to ſend him to preach the Goſpel unto the Ignorant Nations he has diſcovered? For is it not more reaſonable to think, that that Monarch will rather convert that People to his own Religion, than ſuffer Catholick Miſſionaries*

to

to convert them to the Church of Rome? *What Opinion then ought Men to have of the Religion of Father* Hennepin? *This is the chief Argument insisted on by my Enemies to make me odious to those of my Religion, or rather to the ignorant part of it; but I may easily confute that silly Calumny: For in the first place, His Majesty of* Great Britain *has not exacted nor demanded any Promise of me, when He was pleased to admit me into His Service, that may be directly or indirectly contrary to my Religion. These Bigots ought by the same reason to censure the Emperor, the King of* Spain, *the Electors of the Empire, and Bishops of* Liege, Munster, *&c. who are entred into so strict an Alliance with His Majesty of* Great Britain, *and conclude from thence, that those Catholick Princes have formed some Design against the Catholick Religion. But supposing that the* English *convert those numerous Nations to their Religion, and that I contribute something to it, am I for all that to be blamed? I hope no body will say so, unless it be those morose Bigots, who think that the ignorant* Americans *who worship the Devil, or any other Creature, are nearer to the Kingdom of God than Protestants who worship the same God as we, hope in the same Redeemer, and are separated from us only upon some points; which Opinion I look upon as a Frenzy worthy of my Compassion, and not of a Reply. But who told them that the Catholick Faith cannot be preached under the Protection of King* William, *or the States General? Those who censure me, enjoy their Religion*

under

under that very Protection, and the Reader will find at the latter end of this Volume, what offers the Engliſh *made to our Recollects in* America. *But let them ſay what they pleaſe, I have the Approbation of His Catholick Majeſty, the Elector of* Bavaria, *and the permiſſion of the Superiors of my Order.*

2. *Some others think that I impoſe upon them in the Account I give of the courſe of the* Meſchaſipi, *and that it is not poſſible I ſhould have travelled in ſo ſhort a time from its Mouth to its Source. To theſe I reply, that they are not acquainted with* Canous *made of Bark of Trees, which are ſo light that one may travel* 20, 25, *and in caſe of need* 30 *Leagues in a Day againſt the Stream of a River, whereas by my Account it does not come to Ten in a Day. But if one follows the Stream, as we did from the River of the* Illinois *to the Mouth of the* Meſchaſipi, *the ſwiftneſs is ſo great, that I am ſure we ſpent twice more than was requir'd.*

3. *When wicked and malicious Perſons conſpire the Ruin of a Man they hate, or elſe who gives them ſome umbrage, they make uſe of all Artifices; therefore my Enemies being afraid, that the publiſhing of my Diſcoveries may prejudice their Intereſt, they have done their utmoſt to diſſwade the Bookſellers of this City of* Utrecht *from printing my Books; inſinuating, that this was but a Repetition of my Deſcription of* Louiſiana *publiſhed many Years agoe, and tranſlated, as they ſay, into Dutch; but really this is very impertinent; for my* Louiſiana *contains not* 20 *Sheets, and how is it poſſible*

possible that the Abstract of it should contain 50? 'Tis true, I repeat some few things I published then, because otherwise I had been unintelligible, but most commonly I refer the Reader to that Book, which certainly I would not have done, if this last were nothing but the Repetition of the former. But I would ask these Gentlemen, whether they have found in the Description of Louisiana, *any Account of the Course of the* Meschasipi *from the River of the* Illinois *into the Gulph of* Mexico; *nor the Account of Mr.* de la Salle's *unfortunate Travels, with my Additions, and many other things: And as there is no body so impudent to say they have, they confute themselves, and must own, that these two Books I have dedicated to His Majesty were not printed before. I have however the Comfort that they don't accuse me to have robb'd others; the* Louisiana *was my own Work, and I think I may be as free to borrow something from it in case of need, as others have done.*

4. *A Learned Man has observ'd in a very civil manner, that I have said that I have spent* about 11 Years in my Discovery, *and yet it does not appear by my Account of it that I have been so long; but he must observe, that when I say Eleven Years, I reckon from the time that I set out from* Flanders, *which was just after the Battel of* Seneff, *where I was in great danger of my life, to the second Edition of my Description of* Louisiana, *which was in* 1688; *and therefore I might have said Fourteen Years instead of Eleven; for*

I have

I have been all that while about it, either in Europe *or* America.

5. *Some other peeviſh Criticks urge, that when I ſay that the Savages of* Iſſati *call the Sun* Louis, *I deſigned to flatter the King of* France; *but this is a fooliſh Suggeſtion, and a far fetch'd Flattery, the name of* Louis *being common to the King and the meaneſt of his Subjects; therefore I repeat, how that having liv'd a conſiderable time in the Family of* Aquipaguetin, *one of the chief of the* Iſſati, *and learned their Language, I was aſſured, that they call the Sun by no other name than* Louis, *and the Moon* Louis Baſetche, *that is the Sun of the Night.*

6. *Others having no Objection to make, tells us, That I relate nothing extraordinary; but in the name of Wonder, what will this People have? For if the Deſcription of* 4 *or* 5 *Lakes, or rather Freſh-water Seas, ſome of which are in circuit* 4, 5 *and* 700 *Leagues, upon which we ſailed with a Ship of* 60 *Tuns for* 500 *Leagues together, to the great amazement of the Savages, who had never ſeen the like, nor heard the noiſe of Cannon: If the Deſcription of the fall of* Nigara, *which is one of the moſt ſurprizing things in the World, the Water falling from above* 700 *Foot high: If the Diſcovery of* 200 *different Nations unknown before, and of whom no Traveller had made mention; if all theſe things, I ſay, with the Deſcription of that delicious Country, does not ſeem extraordinary, I don't know what will ſeem ſuch to thoſe Gentlemen. I relate what I have ſeen, and*

really I lie under no temptation to forge any surprizing Discovery to recommend my Book, the real things I have observ'd being worthy of the Consideration of all ingenious Men.

7. *Such who have not travelled, nor read many Accounts of Voyages, are very apt to blame what they don't understand, and therefore laugh when one tells them of a new discovered Country larger than* Europe, *for they fancy there can be no such thing; and when they talk of* Canada, *they talk of it as if it were no larger than a Principality in* Germany; *but Men of Parts and Reading are of another Opinion: I have demonstrated that* Canada *is about 700 Leagues long, and that the Coast of the River St.* Laurence, *which I have survey'd from its Mouth to the great Lake from which it springs is near 800 Leagues long. I say the same thing of the incomparable River* Meschasipi, *which is larger and bigger than the former; and to shew the probability of the thing, I have set down in the general Map of my Discovery the Course of the River of the* Amazons, *in the Southern* America, *which is esteemed much the same, though in my Opinion the* Meschasipi *and the River St.* Laurence *have a longer Course. From the Course of these Rivers, and the Extent of the Lakes, I conclude that the Continent I have discovered is larger than* Europe, *which might in time form one of the greatest Empires in the World.*

I intend to describe in this Volume those Countries, to treat of the nature of their Soil, and of

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the Customs, Manners, and Genius of the Inhabitants; and what sort of Trades may be settled in those Parts; therefore I thought fit to add an Abstract of the Voyage Mr. de la Salle made thither after me. The whole is divided into Chapters, according to the Method I followed in the First Part.

I design the latter end of my Book to treat of the few Conversions our Missionaries have wrought in Canada, notwithstanding their Zeal and indefatigable Labours, which ought to make us thankfull towards God, who out of his infinite kindness has been pleased to bless us with his Knowledge, whilst so many thousands of our fellow Creatures are wholly left to themselves, without any Knowledge of God. I am however fully convinced, that the Savages inhabiting the Banks of the Meschasipi will be more succeptible and capable of embracing our Holy Religion, because they are not so fierce, than the Savages of the North, who are commonly Cruel and Obstinate.

To make this Volume more usefull, I have made some Reflections on Mr. de la Salle's last Voyage, because I was better acquainted with those vast Countries than Father Christian le Clercqz, Definitor of our Recollects of the Province of Artois, who has published an Account of it. I have a great esteem for that Father, and was always his Friend, and must own, that he has given a good Account of Canada and Gaspesia; but at the same time I must say, that the Account he gives of the Inhabitants of Louisiana and about the Meschasipi is not to

be rely'd upon, for he never was within 1200 *Leagues of that Country.* Gaſpee *in* Accadia, *and* Quebec, *the neareſt places where he has been, being above that diſtance. 'Tis true, the Diary of my Diſcovery, of which I gave a Copy to Father* Valentin le Roux, *as I have obſerved in my firſt Volume, was communicated unto him, as alſo ſome Memoirs of Father* Zenobe Mambre, *who remained among the* Illinois, *while I was ſent to diſcover the Courſe of the* Meſchaſipi; *and ſo far Father* le Clercqz *is right, but his Additions are not of the ſame Coyn. I do not wonder that he ſhould commend ſo much Father* Mambre, *who was his own Couſin, and a very good Man beſides. We travelled together as far as Fort* Crevecœur *mentioned in my firſt Volume, where I left him among the* Illinois, *and have been always good Friends. After his return from* America *he came to ſee me in our Covent of* Chateau Cambreſis, *and told me, he was going again into* America *with Mr.* de la Salle, *and that he expected he ſhould have an Opportunity to make more exact Obſervations on the* Meſchaſipi *than thoſe I had done in the Year* 1680, *becauſe Mr.* de la Salle *deſigned to undertake that Voyage with ſuch a number of Men as to fear nothing from the Inſults of the Savages. But if I do not blame Father* le Clercqz *for the honourable mention he makes of his Relation, I think every body will condemn him for his concealing the name of the Author he has tranſcribed, and thereby attributing to himſelf the glory of my perilous Voyage. This*

piece

piece of Injuſtice is common enough in this Age.

Mr. de la Salle *undertook to go down the* Meſchaſipi *from the River of the* Illinois *in the Year* 1682, *that is, two Years after me, which was the ſource and cauſe of his Animoſity againſt me, and of the rigorous Orders they obtained from the Court of* France, *to command me to depart the Dominions of the* French *King, upon pretence that I was a Subject of the King of* Spain, *as I have mentioned in my Preface to my firſt Volume. This Order, as I may preſume to ſay ſo, was as contrary to the Rule of Juſtice, as of Politicks, for they might very well foreſee that I ſhould acquaint ſome perſon or other with my Diſcoveries, and croſs thereby their Deſigns.*

From theſe Obſervations it is plain, that as I was the firſt European *who diſcovered the Courſe of the* Meſchaſipi, *and the delicious Country about it; ſo all others have ſeen nothing but what I had ſeen before, and have related nothing material, but what they have abſtracted out of the Copy of the Journal of my Voyage which I gave to Father* Valentin le Roux, *and was by him communicated to Father* Hyacinth le Fevre.

Mr. de la Salle *had begun a Settlement in the Iſland of* Montreal *in* Canada, *which is* 25 *Leagues about, and this ſmall Colony is ſo much improv'd as to be now a great and populous Village. They call it* China, *becauſe while Mr.* de la Salle *lived there, and began the Settlement, he ſpoke very often of the Mines of St.* Barbe, *and ſaid, that as ſoon as he had taken thoſe Mines, he would go*

into China *and* Japan *without crossing the Line, and to that end, find a Passage into the* South-Sea. *This was the chief Subject of our Conversations, and as the Discoveries I have made cannot be far from the* Pacifick Sea, *I don't question but Mr.* de la Salle, *whose great Courage was proof against all Difficulties and Misfortunes, would have succeeded in his Design.*

Those who are skill'd in Geography have long agoe suspected that Japan *is contiguous to the Lands of the* Northern America; *and the Learned* Grævius, *so well known in the Commonwealth of Learning, having carefully examined our Discovery, was pleased to tell me very lately in a meeting of* Vertuosi, *in this City of* Utrecht, *That he was of my Opinion, and did not think that* Japan *was an Island, as it is commonly said, but that it joyns with the large Country I had discovered.*

I have made use of a proof in my last Volume, Chapter 37, *which I crave leave to repeat in this place, because it is a Matter of Fact: While I was amongst the* Isiati *and* Nadoueſſans *there came an Embassy of Savages from a very remote Nation to the* Westward. *I was in the Cabin when my Foster Father* Aquipaguetin (*for he had adopted me his Son*) *gave them Audience, and having asked them some Questions by an Interpreter, they told me that they came from a remote Country to the* Westward, *that they had marched* 3 *Moons,* (*that is, Months*) *without meeting with any* Lasa, *that is in their meaning, the Seas; which certain-*

ly

ly could not be true, was there any such a thing as the Streight of Agnian *set down in most of our Mapps.*

The English *and* Dutch *have in vain attempted to find out a Passage to* China *and* Japan *through the* Frozen-Sea, *but if they are pleased to send me about it, I am confident that I shall find some great River running into the* Pacifick-Sea, *whereby, and by means of the* Meschasipi, *it will be easie to trade and have Communication with* China *and* Japan *without crossing twice the Line: and losing abundance of Men.*

I am so fully convinced of what I say, that I am willing to return into America *to shew the Way unto others; some will blame me for this rash Undertaking, but why should I have less Zeal for the Service of God than those Pious Recollects who ventured into the Kingdom of* Voxu *in the* Eastern *part of* Japan, *and converted the King thereof to the Knowledge of God. That Prince was so Zealous for the true Religion, that he burnt* 800 *Idols, and sent an Ambassador into* Europe *with a Retinue of* 100 *Gentlemen. They embarked* October 28. 1613, *and arrived in* Spain November 10. 1614, *being conducted by Father* Lewis Sotello *a Recollect, who presented the said Ambassador to his Catholick Majesty, and afterwards to the Pope, whom he assured, that the King his Master and most of his Subjects had renounced their Idolatry and embraced the Christian Religion. The Reader will forgive me if I relate two or three things more for the Honour of my Order. The*

Franciscans *were the first who accompanied* Christopher Columbus *into his newly discovered Country, and had the Honour to preach first of all the Knowledge of God to the* Indians. *The Conquest of the* Spaniards *arrived to the highest pitch in the Years* 1540 *and* 1541, *and yet no other Religious Order had been employed to bring those lost Sheep into the Flock of the Lord, and they alone had converted a great part of the Subjects of the King of* Japan *unto the Christian Faith: So that having those great Models before me, I may say, that I long to make an end of my Discovery.*

That short passage into China, *would, I think, prove as advantageous to* Europe, *as any Discovery that has been yet made; and this is another great Encouragement for me, for what greater satisfaction can a rational Being propose to himself, than to do good to Mankind, and find out something usefull to his Country? Having therefore all Power and Patents necessary for my Mission, I am ready for that great Voyage, and I hope, through the Grace of God to be able to go through that Discovery, and thereby convince the World of the Equity of my Intentions.*

The Reader may observe, that the Settlements that shall be made in that Country will absolutely be managed by Laicks, and that supposing the Franciscans should be employ'd 500 *Years about the Conversion of the Natives, they should not have there an inch of Land to themselves, it being against the Laws of their Order; whereas in some other Countries, where another Order has got a*

footing

footing, they are Masters now of the Temporal as well as the Spiritual, the best Lordships and Manners belonging to them. How they have discharged their Spiritual Function, I don't know, but sure I am, they have taken a great care of their Temporal Interest, as I intend to shew in a third Volume, which I shall publish in this City of Utrecht, *if it is thought convenient.*

I should have a fair opportunity to avenge my self in this Preface of certain Persons of this very Town, who have aspersed me with the utmost Malice, and kept for their own use the Money I had received from his Majesty of Great Britain, *and which I advanc'd to them for my Subsistence. This is a very foul Action, and worthy to be publickly taken notice of; but my Religion teaching me to forgive my Enemies, I follow that Precept, and do heartily forgive them.*

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A MAP of A NEW WORLD between NEW-MEXICO And the Frozen Sea Newly Discovered by Father LEWIS HENNEPIN Missionary Recollect and Native of Aht in Hainault Dedicated to his Majesty of GREAT BRITAIN WILLIAM III

Tartaria PART OF ASIA
LAND OF IESSO
Iapon
Sea of IESSO the Pretended Strait of Anian
Streights of Anian
Lake of the Assenepoils
Chongaskaby or the Nation of strong men
Residence of the Mission of the Recollects
the Nantons
Nadouessans
Oua de Battons or Nation of the River
Tintonha or Nation of the Meadows
The Fall of S. Anthony of Padua
Ilsati
Ilsati
Lake Superiur
Lake of Tears
Tract of Lands full of Wild Bulls
the Illinois
Illinois R.
Lake Illinois
Fort of Miamis
Fort of Grevecoer
Portage
Mission of the Recollets
Akansa
Akansa R.
Massourites
Chiquacha
Taensa
Quinipissa
Sandy R.
Quoaquis
River of Magdalen
Mines of S. Barbe
Coenis
Tescaluca
Mouth of Mechasipi
Bay of S. Iuan
Mesasipi
Ouig R.
Lake Erie
Lake Huron
Lake Ontario
Country of the Iroquois
Fort Frontenac
Mission Recollets
Cataracouy
Toronto
Quebec
Mont Reall
Lake S. John
Tadousac
Gulf of S. Laurence
Canada
New England
Virginia
Carolina
Florida
Gulf of Mexico
Channel of Bahama
Bahama
Lucayes Isles
C. Florida
C. Aquada
C. May
Hud R. or Bay of Chesapeak
Secotan
Long I.
Malabar or C. Cod
C. Breton
Cancea
I. Royal
Gulfe of Canseas
Accadie
New Found Land
C. Race
Great Bank
C. de Grace
Antecosta
Breast
New Britain
Hudsons Bay
Sea of Canada or North Sea
I. Azores
I. Canarias
Ireland
England
The Channel
Breast
Part of France
Part of Spain
Part of Africa
Tropick of Cancer
Equinoctiall Line
Great City of Mexico
Merida
Iucatan
New Spain
California
Vermilion Sea
Mexico
Sea
Cos Antony
Havana
Cuba
Iamaica
Hispaniola
Porto Rico
Clementa
Anguilla
Gardalupa
S. Christop
Dominique
Martinico
French Antilles
Curacao
Conception
Porto Bello
R. Dare
Cartagena
Bay of Panama
The South Sea
South America
240 250 260 270 280 290 300 310 320 330 340 350 360 10 20
North
South
West
East
60 50 40 30 20 10 0

A

VOYAGE

INTO A

Newly Discover'd Country

Larger than

EUROPE,

Situate between the

Frozen Sea and *New Mexico.*

CHAP. I.

An Account of M. de la Salle's *Undertaking to discover the River* Meschasipi *by the Gulph of* Mexico, *and his establishing a small Colony at the Bay of St.* Lewis.

REason ought to rule Men in all cases, and whenever they think themselves wrong'd by others, they ought, as Christians, to impute it rather to their Pre-occupation or Prejudices, than to their Malice; and this Maxim I propose to my self as my rule, as the Readers will observe in the following Narration.

I liv'd near three Years together as Missionary with Mr. *Robert Cavelier de la Salle* at Fort *Katarokouy* or *Frontenac*, whereof he was Governor and Proprietor; and during that time, we read together the Voy-

ages of *John Pontius de Leon*, *Pamphylio Narvaez*, *Chriſtopher Columbus*, *Ferdinand Soto*, and ſeveral other Travellers, the better to fit and prepare our ſelves for the great Diſcovery we intended to make. M. *de la Salles* was a fit Man for the greateſt Undertakings, and may be juſtly rank'd amongſt the moſt famous Travellers that ever were, as it will appear to whomſoever will conſider that he ſpent his own Eſtate about the greateſt, moſt important, and moſt perillous Diſcovery that has been yet made; which he undertook with a handfull of Men, whom he preſerv'd from the numerous Nations he diſcover'd, amongſt whom all other Travellers, except *Columbus*, periſh'd without reaping any advantage from their Enterprizes, which however coſt them above 100000 Men: ſo that upon the whole, I may boldly conclude, that no body, before M. *de la Salle* and I, undertook ſo dangerous an Expedition with ſo few Men.

Our deſign was to endeavour to find out, if poſſible, a Paſſage from the Northern to the South Sea without croſſing the Line, which a great many have hitherto ſought in vain. The River *Meſchaſipi* does not indeed run that way, but however M. *de la Salle* was in hopes to diſcover by the means of the *Meſchaſipi*, ſome other River running into the South Sea, and knowing his great Courage and Ability, I don't queſtion but he would have ſucceeded, had God been pleaſed to preſerve his Life. As that unfortunate Gentleman was about it, he was murther'd; and if the divine Providence has ſpar'd me, 'tis it ſeems, that I may acquaint the World with a ſhort way to go to *China* and *Japan*, which I hope may be done by means of my Diſcoveries: Therefore if his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, or the States General are willing to ſend any body to find out that ſo much talk'd of Paſſage, and that I may accompany them, I am morally ſure that by the Grace of God, we ſhall ſucceed before the end of this Age.

The

The Country of the *Illinois*, and other neighbouring Nations, being the Center of our Discovery, M *de la Salles* design'd to settle there a Colony; and therefore any Prince or State, who will pursue so generous a Design, must follow the same method, and build Forts from Place to Place, to have an uninterrupted Communication, and keep in awe the Inhabitants of these vast Countries. The first thing M. *de la Salle* did in order thereto, was to endeavour to find out by Sea the Mouth of the *Meschasipi*, which discharges it self into the Gulph of *Mexico*, as it has been said in my first Volume, to settle there a Colony, and build a good Fort to be as his Magazine, and serve as a retreat both by Sea and Land in case of any mishap. He made his Proposals to the *French* King's Council; which were perus'd and approv'd by Monsieur *de Seignelay* Secretary and Minister of State, and Intendent General of the Commerce and Navigation of *France*, his most Christian Majesty approved likewise his Design, gave him all necessary Authority, and supply'd him with Ships, Men and Money.

M. *de la Salle* having obtain'd what he desir'd from the King, thought of chusing able Missionaries to convert those barbarous and wild Nations unto the Christian Religion, and resolv'd to use two different Orders; but as this choice was a nice and difficult thing, he apply'd himself to Monsieur *Tronson* Superiour of the *Seminary* of St. *Sulpicius* at *Paris*, who appointed three Men of great Vertue, Zeal and Capacity to attend M. *de la Salle* as Missionaries; these were M. *Cavelier* Brother to M. *de la Salles*, M. *Chefdeville* a Relation of his, and M. *Majalle*, Priests in the said *Seminary*.

I had attended M. *de la Salle* near twelve Years in the Discovery of *Louisiana*, and Father *Zenobe*, and *Gabriel de la Ribourde* and my self had likewise accompanied him into the Country of the *Illinois*, where *Gabriel* was murthered by the Savages, therefore

M. *de la Salle* resolved to have some *Recollects* to endeavour to establish the Knowledge of God in those vast Countries, and to that end applied himself to Father *Hyacinth le Fevre*, who was then for a second time *Provincial Commissary* of the Province of St. *Denys* in *France*, who granted him the Missionaries he demanded, *viz.* Father *Zenobe Mambré* of *Bapaume* as Superiour, Father *Maxime le Clerc* of *Lille* in *Flanders*, *Anastase Douay* of *Quesnoy* in *Hainault*, and *Denys Morquet* of *Arras*, all *Recollects* of the Province of St. *Anthony* in *Artois*. The first, as I have said, had been as far as the *Illinois* with M. *de la Salle*, and I toward the latter end of the Year 1679. And the beginning of the following, and two Years after, *viz.* 1682 he went with M. *de la Salle* to the Mouth of the *Meschasipi* in the Gulph of *Mexico*, about two Years after my Discovery. The second Father had been five Years Missionary in *Canada*, and had performed the Functions of his Ministry with great Diligence and much Edification, especially in the Mission of the *Seven Islands* and *Anticosti*. Father *Douay*, who is now Vicar of the *Recollects* of *Cambray*, had never been in *America*, no more than Father *Denys*, who fell so sick three days after he went on board, that he was forced to go a-shore and return into his Province.

The *Provincial* of the Order acquainted with this Mission the Congregation *de propaganda fide*, to obtain the Power and Authority necessary for that Enterprize, who sent a Decree according to the usual Form; and Pope *Innocent* XI. added a Brief thereunto, containing several Powers and Commissions in 36 Articles, that are usually granted to Missionaries going into remote Countries, where they cannot referr certain Cases to Bishops. The Bishop of *Quebec* oppos'd it with all his Interest, but Cardinal *d'Estrees* shew'd, that his Opposition was unreasonable, seeing the Country where these Missionaries were to preach the

Gospel

Goſpel, was 1000 Leagues diſtant from *Quebec*.

The advantages they expected in *France* from our Diſcovery were ſo great, that ſeveral young Gentlemen offer'd themſelves to accompany M. *de la Salle* as Volunteers, tho' they knew him only by the character I had given of him in my Deſcription of *Louiſiana*, which I publiſh'd after my return into *France*. This alſo gain'd him the eſteem of Monſieur *Seignelay*, which was very advantageous to him. That Miniſter ſent for me ſeveral times to diſcourſe with him about the circumſtances of our Diſcovery, which I told him ſincerely, concealing only my Diſcovery of the Courſe of the *Meſchaſipi* from the River of the *Illinois* to the Gulph of *Mexico*, out of pure kindneſs for M. *de la Salle*, who thereby recommended himſelf to the favour of the late Prince of *Conti* and Monſieur *Seignelay*.

All things being thus favourably diſpoſed, M. *de la Salle* choſe twelve Gentlemen, who appear'd to him vigorous, and like to bear the Fatigues of that Voyage, and amongſt them, he took two of his own Nephews, *viz.* Mr. *Moranger* and Mr. *Cavelier*, tho' this laſt was but fourteen Years of Age. One *Mertin*, Son to a rich Merchant of *Rochel*, went alſo with him. In the mean time, they fitted out in that Harbour his ſmall Fleet, which conſiſted of four Ships, *viz.* the *Toby*, one of the King's Men of War; the *Handſom*, a ſmall Frigot; a Fly-Boat, call'd *l'Aimable*, and a Ketch, call'd St. *Francis*. The Man of War was commanded by Monſieur *de Beaujeu*, a Gentleman of *Normandy*, with whom I have had ſeveral Converſations ſince his return, at *Dunkirk*. This Officer is known by his great Services and long Experience, as well as his Lieutenant, the Chevalier *de Here*, who is now Captain of a Man of War. The Enſign was called *de Hamel*, a Gentleman of *Bretaigny*, of a ſtrong and vigorous Conſtitution. It were to be wiſhed that

the Crew of the Ships, as well as the Soldiers, had answered the Character of the Officers; but while M. *de la Salle* was at Court, those whom he employed to make his Levies, listed about 150 poor Beggars, deformed, lame, and unfit for the hard Services they were design'd for: He had also desir'd them to engage Men of several Professions, as Blacksmiths, Carpenters, Joyners, Masons, and the like; but when he came to try them, he found they were dull and ignorant Creatures, so that he was forced to find out new Soldiers and Workmen, which took up much of his time. About ten Families of the Neighbourhood of *Rochel* offer'd themselves to go with him to settle a Colony, which he accepted, and advanc'd them Money to buy what was thought most necessary for their Establishment.

His Preparations being finished, the Fleet sailed *July* 24, 1684 from *Rochel*, but a violent Storm oblig'd them to come back, and they continued in the Road till *August* 5, that they sail'd for St *Domingo*. They met with another Storm on the 14 of *September*, which separated the Fleet; the Fly-boat remain'd alone with the Frigat, and arriv'd together at *Petit-Guaves*, where they found the *Toby*, and heard that the St. *Francis*, on board which were their Merchandizes, was arriv'd at *Port de Paix*. The bad Weather being over, the Ketch sailed for *Petit-Guaves*, the Rendezvous of the Fleet, but was unhappily taken in her way by the *Spanish* Cruisers.

I remember that in our Conversations at Fort *Frontenac*, M. *de la Salle* told me several times, that he would die satisfied and contented, could he but make himself Master of the Mine of St. *Barbe* in *New Mexico*; I gave him no answer at first, but seeing that he repeated it too often, tho' I knew I was a Subject of the King of *Spain*, I could not forbear to express my Affection for my lawfull Sovereign, and told him, that tho' I

was

was with him I had not forgot my Native Country concluding my answer with these words, *Vincit amor Patriæ*. This was perhaps the first cause of all the hardships and injustices I have suffer'd since that time, and which I might therefore have avoided, had I been capable of dissembling, as the Generality of Mankind do. But to return to M. *la Salles*, the loss of the Ketch was of a fatal consequence to him, not so much for the value of the Merchandizes, but because the *Spaniards* had notice of his designs against their Mines.

M. *la Salles* was hardly recover'd of a dangerous Distemper, when those unhappy Tydings were brought to him, and was like to relapse upon that occasion; but the rest of his company being not as courageous as he, were quite dis-spirited, and neglected to keep the Soldiers under a severe Discipline, who giving up themselves to the Lewdness and Dissoluteness, so common in those Islands, contracted such Distempers that a great many died before they left *Petit-Guaves*, and the other continued sickly all their Life. As soon as M. *la Salles* was able to walk abroad, he made his Preparations for leaving the Island, and by the assistance of Monsieur *de St. Laurence* Governour General of the *French* Islands, and Monsieur *Begon*, Intendent of the same; he put his Fleet in a condition to sail from thence, *November* 25, 1684, having taken on board all sorts of Refreshments, a great quantity of *Indian* Corn, and of all sorts of tame Beasts to stock the new Country they were going to inhabit.

They sail'd along the Islands of *Caimano*, and touch'd at the Island of *Peace* for fresh Water, and from thence sail'd to St. *Anthony* in the Island of *Cuba*, where they anchor'd. The Sweetness and Situation of that place invited them to land, and they found a good Store of Refreshments, and even some Wine which the *Spaniards* had left in that place, having run away with too great a Precipitation. They continued there two

days, and then sail'd, steering towards the Gulph of *Mexico*.

M. *de la Salle* was a very understanding Man, and hardly to be impos'd upon, yet he was deceiv'd by some Men of St. *Domingo*, and it was by their advice that he steer'd a wrong Course. They had told him that the Northern Winds were very dangerous at the entrance of the Gulph, and this fear oblig'd him to return thence upon the Coast of *Cuba*; but at last he overcame all Difficulties, and got into the Gulph, *January* 1. 1685. and descry'd a Fortnight after the Coast of *Florida*, where they were surpriz'd by a strong Wind, which parted the Fleet, the *Toby* keeping off from the Coast, and the Frigat and the Fly-boat as near the Land as possible: they had told him also, that the Current of the Gulph runs with a great Rapidity towards the Channel of *Bahama*, but he found himself mistaken, and lost thereby his Course, for thinking he was too far to the North, he sail'd by the Bay of *Spirito Santo*, and overshot the Mouth of the *Meschasipi*. They were undeceiv'd by the Coast of the Gulph, which bends in that place to the Southward, and having taken the Elevation of the Pole, they found they were within 50 Leagues of the *Meschasipi*. The three Ships joyned again about the middle of *February* in the Bay *di Spirito Santo*, where it was agreed to alter their Course; and about 10 Leagues off they found a large Bay, which they called St. *Lewis*. The Provisions growing scarce, the Soldiers were sent a-shore, and M. *de la Salle* sounded the Bay, which he found deep, and the bottom a good Anchorage, so that the Frigat got in happily on the 18th. The Channel is very deep, but somewhat narrow, and there is a Sand at the Mouth of it: M. *de la Salle* took that Bay for the right Arm of the *Meschasipi*, and indeed there was much likelihood of it.

CHAP.

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The Unfortunate adventures of Mons.r de la Salle.

CHAP. II.

An Account of ſeveral Misfortunes that befell M. de la Salle *at the Bay of St.* Lewis.

M. *LaSalles* had expreſsly forbid the Captain of the Fly-boat to attempt to come into the Bay, without having on board the Pilot of the Frigat, who was an experienc'd Man; and for a greater ſecurity he had commanded him to unlade his Guns into the Pinnace to make his Ship the lighter; yet that Brute neglected thoſe Orders and Advice, and without taking any notice of the Marks or Poles they had placed on the Sands to ſhew him the Channel, and the Advice of the Seamen, he ſail'd his Ship at random, and ran her againſt a Sand where ſhe remain'd: M. *de la Salle* was a-ſhore, and fearing the fate of his Ship, was going on board to ſave her, but was prevented by about 120 Savages who came to attack him: He put his Men in a poſture of defence, but the noiſe alone of the Drums put the Savages to flight: M. *de la Salle* follow'd them and preſented them the *Calumet* of Peace, which they accepted, and came along with him to his Camp, where he entertain'd them, and ſent them back with ſome Preſents; they were ſo pleas'd, that they brought ſome Proviſions the next day, and made Alliance with M. *de la Salle*, whereby they engag'd themſelves to ſupply him with ſome Pyrogues or wooden Canou's: That Alliance would likely have prov'd very advantageous to M. *de la Salle*, had not an unforeſeen Accident broke that good Intelligence.

As they were unlading the Fly-boat which had ſtruck upon the Sand to endeavour to get her off, a Pack of Blankets fell into the Sea, which the Waves drove

drove upon the shore: The Savages found it, and M. *de la Salle* having notice thereof, sent to demand it of them in a very civil manner. They shew'd some Reluctancy, whereupon the Officer instead of acting the prudent part, threatned to kill them, unless they restor'd it immediately. They were so frighted and incens'd against them, that they resolv'd to be aveng'd of that Affront; and in order thereto, got together in the Night time between the 6 and 7 of *March*, and march'd to surprize the *French* Camp. They advanc'd as near as they would, the Sentry being asleep, and made a discharge of their Arrows which killed 4 Gentlemen Officers and Volunteers, and wounded M. *Moranger* and another Volunteer. The *French* ran to their Arms, and fired upon the Savages, who run away tho' none was wounded: they found the next day two of M. *de la Salle*'s Men whom they murthered as they were sleeping.

In the mean time they unladed the Fly-boat, which was too far sunk to be got off, and saved most of the Goods, and as they were endeavouring to save the rest, she was dashed in Pieces by the violence of the Wind and Waves, and several Men were in great danger of being drowned, but by the Grace of God all escap'd.

Monsieur *Beaujeu* seeing all the Goods and Merchandizes landed, and a Fort almost finished, sailed the 12th of *March* for *France*, and M. *de la Salle* having fortified his Magazine or Fort, which they call *Hangar*, left 100 men under the Command of his Nephew M. *Moranger*, for the defence of it; and with the rest, being 50, and 3 Missionaries, *viz.* M. *Cavelier*, and Father *Zenobe* and *Maxime*, advanced into the Country following the Bay, in hopes to find the *Meschasipi*. The Captain of the Frigat was ordered to sound at the same time the Channel, and bring his Ship as high as he could with safety, which he did,

and

and brought his Ship to an Anchor at a place which was call'd *Hurier*, from the name of the Officer who was left at that place for the Security of that Port, which was absolutely necessary to maintain the Communication between the first Habitation, and another M. *de la Salle* made on the 2d of *April* at the bottom of the Bay upon the Banks of a fine River, which was called the River of the *Cows*, because of the vast number of those Beasts that were discover'd in those parts. The Savages came to attack our Men, but were so warmly receiv'd, that they retir'd without doing the *French* any harm.

On the 21st, being *Easter*-Eve, M. *de la Salle* return'd to the first Camp, and the next day was spent in Devotions; but the 23d they began to carry all the Effects from the two Forts, to the Settlement M. *de la Salles* had made upon the River above-mention'd, and when they had made an end of it, they razed the said Forts. They had sown some Pulse and Corn, but either the Soil was not good, or else the Seed was spoil'd by Salt Water, for it did not rise at all. M. *de la Salle* might have remembred what I had formerly told him in our Voyage to the *Illinois*, that Corn and other Seeds which we bring from *Europe*, must either be in their Ears or Hulls, for otherwise they lose their Vertue at Sea, and cannot grow in a Soil that was never cultivated before.

They built a Fort in a very advantageous Post, with so much diligence, that it was in a few days in a good Posture of Defence, being defended by 12 Pieces of Cannon. They made a great Magazine under ground to preserve their Goods and Provision from Fire. It is to be observed that the Forts in *America*, I mean such as I speak of now, require not so much Art and Labour, as in *Europe*, since the Savages have no Artillery to attack them. They are so afraid of Fire-Arms, that none of those Nations ever durst attack

these

these mean Fortifications, except the *Iroquois*, who attempted to force the *French* in their Intrenchments in the Island of *Orleans*, now called St. *Lawrence* near *Quebec*. The *French* had fortified themselves with Pallisadoes, which the *Iroquois* set on Fire, and to cover themselves against the *French* in their Approach, every one of them carry'd before him a thick Plank or board Musket-proof, and thereby forced the *French* to leave their Entrenchments. They use also another Stratagem against our Forts, unless they are defended by some Pieces of Cannon to keep them off; they tye to their Arrows a lighted Match, and then shoot them in such manner, as to make them fall on the Top or Roof of the Forts, which is made of Planks, and thereby set them on Fire. M. *de la Salle*, who knew all their Artifices, took also all imaginable Precautions to disappoint them, which he did by covering the Roof with green Turf.

In the mean time, his men grew so sickly, that a great many died in a few days, notwithstanding they were carefully look'd after, and supplied with proper Remedies, and besides this misfortune, he was forc'd to make an open War against the Savages. On the 9th of *August* three of his men were gone a shooting, there being abundance of Game in those Parts. The noise of their Guns gave notice of their Approach to the Savages, who immediately got together in great numbers and surrounded the three *Europeans*, who put themselves in a readiness to fight, and killed with the first shot the General of the Savages. This sad accident terrified them so much, that they ran away, notwithstanding the Disproportion in number. They continued lurking about the Fort, and kill'd a *French* man who had advanc'd too far into the Woods.

M. *de la Salle* seeing no way to bring them to an Alliance, resolved to make War upon them to oblige them to come to Peace, and supply him with their

Pyrogues

Pyrogues or Wooden Canou's which he wanted. Therefore set out from his Fort on the 13th of *October*, with 60 stout Men to look for the Savages, having provided them with a kind of Breast-piece of Wood, to cover them against the Arrows of the Savages. He was not far advanced when he found the Savages incamped, with whom he had several Skirmishes, killing and wounding a great many, and returned with many Prisoners, especially young Children; amongst whom was a Girl of about four Years of Age, which was Christened, and died some Days after.

While M. *de la Salle* was building and perfecting his Fort, those Families he had brought to begin a Colony, grubb'd up the Land, and sowed several sorts of Corn and Pulse, which they had brought in their Ear and Hulls, which succeeded very well. They made some Cannons, and crossed over to the other side of the Bay, where they found a fine River, and a prodigious Number of wild Oxen and Turkeys. The tame Beasts they had brought from St. *Domingo*, as Cows, Hogs, and Fowls multiplied very much; and in short the small Colony began to thrive, since the War had removed the Savages from their Habitations, and 'tis likely that M. *de la Salle* would have succeeded, had not a new Misfortune worse than all the former, disappointed his Noble Designs.

M. *de la Salle* had often entertain'd me with the unheard of Cruelties exercised by the *Spaniards* in New *Mexico*, and *Peru*, against the Inhabitants of those vast Empires, whom they destroyed as much as ever they could, preserving only their Children to make new People. He exclaimed against that Cruelty of the *Spaniards*, as unworthy of Men of Honour, and contrary to the Doctrine of the Christian Religion. I blamed them my self; but yet I offered now and then some Reasons to excuse them, as the Necessities

they

they found themſelves under of exterminating thoſe Nations, or periſhing themſelves, and forſaking their Conqueſt; for whenever they thought themſelves ſafe, they were ſuddenly invaded by great Armies, and therefore in a perpetual Danger. M. *de la Salle* experienced himſelf that Neceſſity in *Canada*, for the Savages do not underſtand the Doctrine of forgiving or forgetting Injuries; and notwithſtanding all Treaties of Peace, they will revenge themſelves one time or other. The French of *Canada* have done all that is poſſible, humanly ſpeaking, to gain the Friendſhip of the *Iroquois*, yet they have not been able to heal the firſt Breach that happened between them, which has been the Source of many Wars, which laſts at this very time; whereas that barbarous People has never had any quarrel with the Dutch inhabiting *New York*, becauſe theſe have always uſed them very kindly, diſſembling ſome inſignificant Injuries, or accepting their ſatisfaction. M. *de la Salle* knew better than any Body the Temper of the Savages, and the Methods how to gain them; therefore I wonder that he would make Wars upon the Neighbours of his new Colony, for this was almoſt an infallible way to ruine it, and cut off the hope of the Converſion of thoſe ignorant Nations. From theſe obſervations we may conclude, that Meekneſs and Charity ſo [illegible]h recommended in the Goſpel, are two Vertues abſolutely neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of Colonies in thoſe new Countries; for otherwiſe the new Inhabitants muſt deſtroy the Ancient, or be deſtroyed by them, either of which is a cruel Neceſſity unworthy of a Chriſtian. M. *de la Salle* had ordered the Captain of the Frigat to ſound the Bay, and to ſuffer none of his Men to lie a-ſhoar; however the Captain himſelf, and ſix of his beſt Men being charmed with the Sweetneſs of the Country went a-ſhoar, and leaving their Canou's upon the Owze with their Arms, went into a Meadow where they

they fell asleep, and were murthered by the Savages, who broke their Arms and Canou. This sad Accident put the Colony in a dreadfull Consternation. M. *de la Salle* having buried his Men, resolv'd to travel along the Coast to find out the Mouth of the *Meschasipi*, and having left the Inhabitants and Soldiers who were to remain in the Fort, set out with 20 Men, and M. *Cavelier* his Brother.

This Bay of St. *Lewis* is formed by several Rivers, and lies in the Latitude of 27 Degrees 45 Minutes. None of these Rivers was broad and deep enough to be an Arm of the *Meschasipi*, but M. *de la Salle* thought they might be Branches of one of the Arms of that River, therefore he resolved to follow one of them, which cost him a world of Trouble, for he found several other Rivers running into that, too deep to be forded, which they crossed, laying together several Branches of Trees, of which they made use instead of Boats. They met with several Nations of Savages, and were forced to entrench themselves every Night, for fear of being surprised. The continual Rains that fell during his Voyage, made the ways very bad, and swell'd several small Rivulets, which increased his Trouble. At last, on the 13th of *February*, he thought to have found his so much wish'd for River; and having fortified a Post on its Bank, and left part of his Men for its security; he advanced farther into the Country, which appeared unto him the most delicious and fertile that ever he saw. He visited several Nations who received him with much Humanity, and returned to his Fort on the 31st of *March*, charmed with his Discovery.

The satisfaction he expressed upon this account can hardly be expressed, but the Grief which the loss of his Frigat caused him, over-ballanc'd it. This was the only Ship left unto him, with which he intended to sail in few Days for St. *Domingo*, to bring

bring a new Supply of Men and Goods to carry on his Design; but it ran unfortunately a ground through the Negligence of the Pilot, and was dash'd in pieces. All the Men were drowned except the Sieur *Chefdeville* one of the Missionaries, the Captain and 4 Seamen; the Goods, Linen, and Cloath of the Colony, with the Provisions and Tools were absolutely lost. M. *de la Salle* was a Man of an extraordinary Courage, and unparallell'd Constancy; yet 'tis likely he would have sunk under this Misfortune, had not God assisted him in an extraordinary manner.

CHAP. III.

A Continuation of the Misfortunes of M. de la Salle, *with an Account of two Voyages he undertook to find out the Country of the* Illinois.

THose who have conversed with Accounts of new Discoveries, are convinced that those who take upon them so difficult a Task, are obliged to do a thousand things, which prove useless and unnecessary; for looking for the right way, and no body being there to shew it unto them, 'tis no wonder if they mistake it. And as to the Misfortunes that befell the worthy Gentleman I speak of, it is nothing but what he, or any body else that shall go about the like Enterprise, must expect with a very inconsiderable Difference. The pious Design he was upon, in relation to the Conversion of those ignorant Nations, deserved it seems a better Fate; but as God's ways are not our ways, we must submit to Divine Providence, without troubling our selves about a vain inquiry into the Secrets of God Almighty. M. *de la Salle* who was a good Christian, knew admirably well the Practice of

of this Doctrine, and without being dejected by the Misfortunes already mention'd, he resolved to go on with his Discovery.

As I am more concern'd than any body else to know whether M. *de la Salle* had really discover'd the *Meschasipi*, when he return'd into *Canada* over land, because I am the first *European* that ever travell'd upon that River, I have carefully perused all the printed Accounts of his Voyage, as also private Memoirs, but after all, I found that the account published by Father *Anastase* is the most exact, and may be depended upon.

M. *de la Salle* seeing all his Affairs ruin'd by the loss of his Ships, and having no way to return into *Europe* but by *Canada*, resolved upon so dangerous a Journey, and took 20 men along with him, with one Savage call'd *Nikana*, that is to say, Companion of the Nation of *Choumon*. This man had follow'd him into *France*, and had given such proofs of his Affection to his Master on several nice occasions, that he relied more upon him than upon any *European*. M. *Cavelier*, M. *Moranger*, and Father *Anastase* desir'd likewise to accompany him. They took four Pound of Powder, Shot in Proportion, two Axes, two Dozen of Knives, several Pound of *Rassade* or Glass Beads, and two Kettles to boil their Meat, contenting himself with these Provisions, in hopes to find out easily the *Illinois* and return in a short time. Having assisted at the divine Service in the Chapel of the Fort to implore God's Mercy and Protection, he set out the 22d of *April*, 1686 directing his March to the North East, for the *Meschasipi* running directly from the North to the South, into the Gulph of *Mexico*, the Country of the *Illinois* is situated to the N. E. of the place where M. *de la Salle* left.

'Tis likely that they wanted Pyrogues and Canou's, since Father *Anastase* makes no mention of any,

and 'tis likely that M. *de la Salle* was not ſure that he had found out the Mouth of the *Meſchaſipi*, for then he might have eaſily met with the *Illinois* by means of that River, knowing that the River of the *Illinois* runs into the *Meſchaſipi*.

After three days March, they diſcover'd the fineſt Champaign Country in the World, and were met by a great many men on Horſe-back, with Boots, Spurs and Saddles. This Nation invited them to come to their Habitations, but M. *de la Salle* having taken ſome Informations from them concerning his way, thank'd them for their kindneſs, and would not accept of their Offers. The Reader may judge, that all this was tranſacted by ſigns, for they did not underſtand one another. The Equipage of the Nation ſheweth they had Commerce with the *Spaniards*. Our men having continued their March all the day long, incamp'd upon a riſing ground, which they fortified by cutting down ſome Trees to avoid any Surprize.

Having march'd two days through vaſt Meadows, they came upon the Banks of a River which they called *Robeck*, where they found ſuch numbers of wild Oxen, call'd by the *Spaniards Cibola*, that the leaſt Drove conſiſted of about 400: They killed ten of them, and reſted two or three days to broil the Meat for the reſt of their Voyage.

Within a League and a half from the *Robeck* they met with another River broader and deeper than the *Seine* before *Paris*, its Banks being adorn'd with great Trees, ſo well diſpos'd by Nature, that they ſeem as many Walks artificially planted. One ſide of the River is cover'd with Woods, and the other is a continued Meadow. They were oblig'd to cut Branches of Trees and tie them together to croſs it over. They call'd it the *Wicked*. The Country between this *Wicked* River and another they met few days after, is full of Trees, bearing all ſorts of Fruit,

and

and especially of Mulberry-trees, but the Vines are so common, that the whole seems a Vineyard, and the highest Trees are cover'd with them. They call'd the last River *Hiens*, because one of them, a *German* by Birth, of the Country of *Wirtemburg*, stuck so fast in the Mud, that they had much ado to get him off.

The Raft or floating-boat of Branches, which they commonly us'd to cross the Rivers, taking up much of their time, and this River being narrow, M. *de la Salle* caus'd one of his men to swim over with an Ax, to fell down a Tree, while they fell another on their side, and these two Trees meeting together, made a kind of Bridge; this way was both safer and easier, and therefore they always made use of it, whenever the narrowness of the River would permit it.

M. *de la Salle* alter'd here his course, marching directly to the Eastward. As he told no body the reasons of it, it is impossible to know what was his motive; that Man was secret to a fault, and likely would have prosper'd better, had he been somewhat more communicative. After some days March through a pleasant Country, they found another, which, according to their account, may be call'd the Paradise of the World, inhabited by a numerous Nation, who receiv'd them with all imaginable marks of Friendship and Kindness; their Women embrac'd them chearfully, and caus'd them to sit upon some fine Mats near their Captains, who presented them their *Calumet* of Peace, adorn'd with Feathers of several Colours, and wherein they desir'd them to smoak. They presented them afterwards with a Dish of *Sagamittee*, which is a kind of Pap made with the Root of a Shrub call'd *Tique* or *Toquo*, which looks like a Briar without Thorns: Its Root is very big, and having wash'd it and dry'd it by the Sun, they pound it in a Mortar. This *Sagamittee* tasted pretty well. These ho-

neſt Savages preſented them with ſome Skins of wild Oxen finely dreſt and good for Shooes, which are very neceſſary in that Country, becauſe of ſome ſharp cutting Herbs. M. *de la Salle* preſented them, in return of their kindneſs, ſome Glaſs Beads of black Colour, which is much valu'd amongſt them, they continued ſome days amongſt that Narion, which time M. *de la Salle* improv'd to give them ſome Idea of the Grandeur and Power of the King his Maſter, whom he repreſented higher and greater than the Sun. Theſe People underſtood ſomething of it by his Signs, and were ſtruck with a wonderfull Admiration. M. *Cavelier* and Father *Anaſtaſe* endeavour'd alſo to give them ſome Notions of God, but with what ſucceſs no body can tell.

That Nation is call'd *Biskatronge*, but the *Europeans* call'd them the *Weeping*, and their River the River of *Tears*, becauſe when they arriv'd there, thoſe Savages wept for about a quarter of an Hour. They receive ſo all Strangers, whom they think to come from remote Countries, becauſe this puts them in mind of their deceas'd Relations whom they think upon a long Journey, and whoſe return they expect. That honeſt People gave M. *de la Salle* ſome Guides, and ſupply'd his men with whatever they wanted, and croſſed them over their River in their Pyrogues.

They paſſed three or four other Rivers in three days time, and met with no conſiderable adventure, but on the fourth day as they were near a Village, *Nikana* the Savage, who attended M. *de la Salle*, ſhot a wild Goat, which frighted ſo much the Inhabitants of that Village, that they ran away. M. *de la Salle* put his men in a readineſs to fight, and enter'd the ſaid Village, which conſiſted of above 300 Cabbins. They march'd to the moſt conſiderable, wherein they found the Wife of the chief of the Savages, who had been forc'd to ſtay alone becauſe of her great Age. M. *de la*

Salle

Salle made the most significant Signs he could think on to let her know that he was a Friend, which being perceiv'd by her three Sons, who advanc'd as near as they could without being discover'd, to observe what our men would do, they brought back their men, and offer'd M. *de la Salle* their *Calumet* of Peace, which being accepted, the day was concluded with the Dana of the *Calumet* and other Demonstrations of Joy.

However M. *de la Salle* did not think fit to trust himself in their hands, and therefore refused to lie in their Cabbins, and went to encamp among some Canes or great Reeds hard by, through which it was impossible to come without making a great noise. This was a Masterpiece of Prudence, for otherwise they might have been murther'd; for a Band of Savages got together to surprize them: The ratling noise of the Canes having given notice of their Approach to M. *de la Salle*, he awaked his men, and spoke in so bold a Tone to the Savages that they retir'd. They left that place the next day, parting from them very civilly, and having march'd six Leagues further, they were met by another Band of Savages, who had Ears of *Indian* Corn in their Hands; they embrac'd M. *de la Salle* according to their way, and invited him by Signs to go to their Village, which he consented to. They made him understand, that there was a Nation to the Westward who destroyed all other men; and by the Description they made, he judged they meant the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico*, with whom this Nation was at War. The Village having notice of the Arrival of M. *de la Salle*, all flock'd about them, expressing their joy by Signs and other Postures, and making him understand that he would oblige them to remain with them to assist them against their Enemies: M. *de la Salle* would not agree to that, but promis'd to return in a short time, with a greater number of men;

and after having made them some Presents and receiv'd other things they gave them, he left that place, the Savages carrying him and all his men over their River in their Pyrogues. This Nation is called *Kirononas.*

They continued their March to the Eastward through fine Meadows, and three days after, having left the *Kirononas*, *Nikana* their Savage cry'd out of a sudden that he was a dead man, having been stung by a *Rattle-Snake.* This sad accident oblig'd them to tarry some days in that place: They gave him immediately some Orvietan, and having scarified the Wound, they apply'd upon it some Salt of Vipers, whereby he was recover'd.

CHAP. IV.

*A Continuation of M.*de la Salle's *Voyage and Discovery; and how he was receiv'd by the Savages* Cenis.

THey march'd several days without meeting with any Savages or any Accidents, and came to a River very broad and rapid, which they judg'd to be near the Sea: They made a Raft to cross it, and M. *de la Salle*, and M. *Cavelier*, and part of his men ventur'd upon that floating Boat, which the Rapidity of the Stream carry'd down with such a violence, that they were in few minutes out of sight, leaving their Comrades on the shore under an unspeakable Grief. Father *Anastase* comforted them as much as he could, being himself under a great affliction; for besides their Savage, who was of great use to them, had lost his way, and was wandering in the Woods: They continued in that condition all the day, but in the

the Evening they heard M. *de la Salle* hailing them from the other Shore. Their Raft had been ſtopp'd by a Sand in the middle of the River, which gave them time to recover their ſtrength, in ſo much, that they maſter'd the Current and got happily over; tho' one of them attempting to catch a Branch of a Tree, fell into the Water and was carry'd away. They thought him drown'd, but being an excellent Swimmer, and knowing it was in vain to ſtrive againſt the Stream, but by degrees he was carry'd down a great way, and at laſt got a-ſhore and rejoyn'd Father *Anaſtaſe* and his Companions, who having eat nothing all day long, were exceeding hungry. They found no Game about them, and wanting all manner of Proviſions, they were reduc'd to a great Extremity: the divine Providence, who takes care of the meaneſt of his Creatures, reliev'd them alſo at this time, two young Eagles fell from a Cedar, which afforded them a Meal, tho' it was but a ſmall matter for ten almoſt ſtarv'd Travellers.

They tarry'd in that place that night, and the next day they endeavour'd to croſs the River, and by the advice of M. *de la Salle*, they made a Raft of Canes, which with the help of two men that ſwam to defend it againſt the Rapidity of the Stream, they got all over except their Savage Being thus rejoyn'd they march'd two days through a Foreſt of Canes, through which they were forced to cut their way with their Axes, and on the third day they found *Nikana* with three wild Goats already broyl'd, and another which he had juſt kill'd. M. *de la Salle* ordered two or three Guns to be fir'd to ſhew his Joy.

Having refreſh'd themſelves they continu'd their March Eaſtward, travelling through a moſt delicious Country, where they found Savages, who had nothing barbarous but their Name. They met one of them who came from ſhooting with his Wife and Family;

mily; he presented M. *de la Salle* with a Horse and some Flesh, desiring him by signs to go along with him to his Habitation, and lest he should have any Suspicion, he left his Wife and Family with him, and went to his Village, where he was accompany'd by *Nikana*, and a Footman of M. *de la Salle*. They return'd two days after with two Horses loaded with Provisions, and acquainted their Master with the civility of that People, who sent their chief Commanders and young Warriors to complement them. They were handsomly cover'd with dress'd Skins, adorned with Feathers of different Colours. M. *de la Salle* thought fit to advance, and within three Leagues of the Village he met the Savages, who presented them their *Calumet* of Peace in great Ceremony. They conducted them in triumph to the Cabbin of their General, where a great number of People came to see them. M. *de la Salle* observ'd that the young Warriours mounted the Guard and were reliev'd by turns. The great civility of that People oblig'd M. *de la Salle* to leave the Village and encamp about two Miles off, for having observ'd that the Women were exceeding kind to them, and pretty handsom, he was afraid his men would be debauch'd, which might have been of a fatal consequence. They tarry'd there four days, and bought some Horses for some of our *European* Commodities.

This Village belongs to the *Cenis*, and is one of the most populous and largest of *America*, being about 20 Leagues long, not in a continued Street, but because the Hamblets are so near one another, that the whole looks as if it were but one. Their Cabbins are extraordinary fine, of about 50 Foot long, and built as Bee-Hives. They plant Trees round-about, whose Branches joyn over their Cabins, and which they tie together: Their Beds are placed round-about their Cabins, four Foot higher than the floor, and they

make

make their Fire in the middle. Each Cabin is for two Families. They found amongst them several things which they must have from the *Spaniards*, as some Pieces of Eight, Silver Spoons, Lace, Cloaths and Horses. They had also a Bull of the Pope, exempting the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico* from fasting in Summer time. How they came by it, they could never understand. The Horses are so common, that one of M. *de la Salle*'s men had one given him for his Ax, and another offer'd a fine one for Father *Anastase*'s Capuch. They have however no direct Trade with the *Spaniards*, but get these things from the *Choumans* their Allies, who being Neighbours of the *Europeans* are often in War with them. M. *de la Salle* having always the Mines of St. *Barbe* in his Thoughts, desir'd them by Signs to draw a Map of the Country, and the Course of their River, which they understood, and with a Piece of Coal, they made on the white Bark of a Tree a Description of their Country and River, that M. *de la Salle* understood they were within six days journey from the *Spaniards*, whom they knew, their Warriors going often to assist the *Choumans* against them.

M. *de la Salle*, who had a particular art to gain the Friendship of the Savages, told them a great many things of the Grandeur of the King his Master, whom he represented as the greatest Captain of the World, and as much above the *Spaniards* as the Sun above the Earth: he gave them an account of his signal Victories: At which, says Father *Anastase*, they put their Fingers upon their Mouth to express their Admiration: but seeing M. *de la Salle* did not speak their Language, I would fain know how the *Cenis* understood the account he gave them of the glorious Actions of the King of *France*. Surely this is a Fiction, or at best, too long a Comment upon a Conversation which was acted by signs; and Father *Anastase* might

might have ſpar'd this Reflection upon the *Spaniards*, for tho' the King of *France* is a great Monarch, yet the King of *Spain* poſſeſſes ſuch Countries in the old and new World, that no Prince can be compar'd to him in that reſpect, and the Motto of the Chatholick Kings, *Sol mihi nunquam occidit*, may be more eaſily juſtified, than the *Nec pluribus impar* of the King of *France*. Thoſe who will conſider the extent of the Dominions of the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies*, will find that they are above 2500 Leagues in length, which I think the great Maſter of M. *de la Salle* can never match.

There were at that time ſome Ambaſſadours of the *Choumans*, at the Village of the *Cenis*, who paid a Viſit to M. *de la Salle*, and at their coming in made the Sign of the Croſs, and kneeling down kiſſed Father *Anaſtaſe*'s Gown, lifting up their Hands to Heaven, and giving them to underſtand, that Men cloathed with like Habits taught their Neighbours. They made ſuch ſigns as convinced the French that they had been at Maſs; and one of them drew with a Coal a tall Woman weeping at the Foot of the Croſs, for the Death of her Son who was nail'd to it. This he muſt needs have ſeen over an Altar in the Spaniſh Churches, and 'tis no wonder if they knew Father *Anaſtaſe*'s Gown, for the *Franciſcans* are very numerous in that Country. Our Authour adds, that they told M. *de la Salle*, that the *Spaniards* made a great ſlaughter of the *Indians*, and that if he would go along with them with his fire Arms, it would be eaſie to conquer them, ſeeing they are Cowards, and ſo Effeminate as to have two Men before them, when they walk in Summer-time each with a large Fann to refreſh them.

This puts me in mind of ſeveral Converſations which I had with M. *de la Salle*, at Fort *Frontenac* concerning our Diſcoveries, and ſpeaking of Miſſionaries and the Qualities they ought to have, I remember

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he told me often that the Jesuits of the Colledge of *Goa* in the East-Indies, which was given them by a Bp. of the Order of St. *Francis*, and whose Revenues amount now to a prodigious Summ, travel in a Litter, where they perform this Mission, having two Men on each side to cool them with a Fann. This he knew from some of those Jesuits themselves, but as he had left this Society, I did not altogether believe what he told me of it; but I wonder that Father *Anastase* would charge upon the *Spaniards* of New *Mexico*, what M. *de la Salle* told me of the Jesuits of *Goa*. The reason may be easily discover'd, the *Spaniards* will either scorn this Reflection, or let it go without Vengeance, whereas the Jesuits are never affronted with Impunity.

M. *de la Salle* having tarried several Days among the *Cenis*, continued his March through the Habitations of the *Nassonis*; these two Nations are in confederacy, and divided by a large River, on the Banks of which the Villages are situated: They have much the same customs and manners.

Within five Leagues of that Place four of M. *de la Salle*'s men ran away to the *Nassonis*, which sadly vex'd him; and few Days after, he together with M. *Moranger* his Nephew, fell sick of a violent Fever, which obliged our Travellers to tarry in that Place for several Weeks, for notwithstanding they recover'd, it was a long time before they were able to continue their Voyage. This Distemper disappointed all their measures, and was the occasion of several misfortunes that befell them afterwards. They tarried there two whole Months, being reduc'd to the greatest Extremities; their Powder was most spent, tho' they were not advanced above 150 Leagues in a direct Line; some of their men had deserted, others began to be irresolute; and all these things being carefully consider'd by M. *de la Salle*, he resolved to return to Fort *Lewis*.

Every

Every body approv'd his Design, and so they returned the same way without meeting with any remarkable Accident, except that one of them was swallowed by a Crocodile of a prodigious Size, as they repassed the *Wicked* River.

They returned to their Camp the 17th of *October* 1686, being received with an incredible Joy by their Companions, who thought them as good as lost amongst these barbarous Nations.

CHAP. V.

A Short Description of Fort Lewis, *of its advantageous Situation, and of the Fertility of the Country about it.*

WHAT has been already observed is enough to shew the Character of M. *de la Salle*, and that never Traveller was more undaunted, and constant in his undertakings than him. All the misfortunes and accidents we have mention'd, were not enough to deject his Courage, nor deterr him from his former Designs, in which through the Grace of God he expected to succeed.

He remained two Months and a half at Fort *Lewis*, during which time he took a view of all the Rivers that run into that Bay, and found above 50 which are Navigable, if we may believe Father *Anastase*, who was with him: They come most of them from the West and North-West. The Fort is situated in a sandy Ground, but the Soil about is very fertile. There are large Meadows in which the Grass grows as high as our Wheat in *Europe*. These Rivers are very frequent, being commonly at 2 or 3 Leagues distance. Their Banks are adorn'd with Oak, Mulberry-

berry-Trees, and other Sets of Trees, some whereof are altogether unknown in *Europe*. The Country is all alike going to the Westward, till within two Day's Journey of the *Spaniards*.

This Fort is situated on a rising Ground, on the Bank of a River, having the Sea to the South-East, the Meadows to the West, and two large Ponds, and a Forest to the South-West; the neareſt Neighbours are the *Guoaquis*, who have abundance of Horses, and the *Bahamos* and *Guinets*, who are wandering Nations, with whom M. *de la Salles* was in War. He forgot nothing during that time to comfort his small Colony, which began to multiply, several Children being born since their Arrival. He imployed his men about grubbing up the Lands, which as I have said, proved very good and fertile. In the mean time our Missionaries applied themselves to the Instruction of some Savage Families, who left their own Nation to live with the *Europeans*. M. *de la Salle* us'd them with all possible kindness, knowing how advantageous it would be to win those barbarous Nations over to his Interest.

M. *de la Salle* having cast up an Intrenchment about a large Inclosure, wherein were the Habitations of the Colony, under the Cannon of the Fort, and taken all other precautions for their Security, called the Inhabitants together, and made so pathetical a Speech to them about the Necessity he was under to make a Voyage to the *Illinois* Country, that he drew Tears from every one of the Assembly, considering the Danger and Fatigue of so great a Voyage, for he was very much beloved. He took 20 men with him with his Brother, his two Nephews, Father *Anastase*, and one *Jouſtel à Ploto*; and after publick Prayers, he set out a second time from Fort *Lewis*, resolv'd not to return till he had found the *Illinois*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

An Account of M. de la Salle's *ſecond Voyage, from the Bay of St.* Lewis, *to the* Illinois.

M. *De la Salle* with 20 men ſet out from his Fort on the 7th of *January* 1687, and met the firſt Day a great Band of *Bahamos*, who were going upon a military Expedition againſt the Savages, called *Trigoanna*. He made alliance with them, and deſigned to do the like with the *Guinets*, whom he met alſo, but they ran away upon his approach: However having overtaken them by means of his Horſes, they agreed together, and promiſed on both ſides an inviolable Peace.

They continued their March to the North-Eaſt, and croſſed the firſt River, which they had called before the River of *Canes*, becauſe the Banks of it are covered with them. The Country is diverſified with Meadows and Woods, and the Soil is ſo fertile, that Graſs grows 10 or 12 Foot high. There are ſeveral populous Villages of Savages upon that Rivers, but they viſited only the *Guaras* and *Anachorema*. They croſſed the ſecond River of *Canes*, diſtant 3 Leagues from the former. Its Banks are inhabited by ſeveral different Nations, and the Country is full of Hemp which grows naturally in thoſe Parts. They met 5 Leagues further another River call'd *Sablonniere*, becauſe it flows through a ſandy ground, tho' the Graſs of the Meadows near its Banks ſheweth the Fertility of the Soil.

Having paſſed three or four ſmall Rivers, they found 8 Leagues from the *Sablonniere* the River *Robeck*, whoſe Banks are peopled with ſeveral Villages of Savages, who ſpeak, in a manner from their Throat. They are in War with the *Spaniards*, and deſir'd M.

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de la Salle to joyn with them, but he had buſineſs elſe where, and with 20 men alone he was not able to do any great things againſt the *Spaniards*. He remain'd five or ſix days with them, and from thence continued his march to the *Wicked* River, ſo called, becauſe a Crocodile had devour'd one of his men. That River has a long courſe, and is inhabited by 40 Villages of Savages, which compoſes the Nation *Kanoatinno*, which are likewiſe at War with the *Spaniards*. They went through ſome of their Villages, where they were kindly receiv'd; tho', if we may believe Father *Anaſtaſe*, the cruelties of the *Spaniards* have ſomewhat chang'd their good Nature into fierceneſs. This, I take to be M. *de la Salle*'s Opinion; for in all his Travels he endeavoured to repreſent the *Spaniards* as the moſt odious and cruel Nation in the World. I muſt own, as I have already intimated, that the *Spaniards* were forc'd to deſtroy ſeveral Nations in *New Mexico*, but they were oblig'd to it to preſerve themſelves againſt them, for elſe the Natives would have deſtroy'd them. 'Tis certain, that the Savages have no kindneſs for the *Europeans*, and keep fair with them, only as long as they fear them. But I wonder, that M. *de la Salle* ſhould blame ſo much the *Spaniards*, and yet form the Enterprize he was about, ſeeing it was impoſſible for him to ſucceed without deſtroying the *Spaniards* themſelves; and as to their Tyranny, I remember to have convinc'd him more than once, that the *Spaniſh* Domination is eaſier and milder than any other he could name.

M. *de la Salle* having got ſome Horſes from thoſe Savages, croſſed the River in Canou's made of Skins of wild Oxen, the Horſes ſwimming over; and four Leagues from thence croſs'd the River *Hiens* or *Hans*, already mention'd, continuing their march to the North-Eaſt. They croſs'd ſeveral other Rivers and Brooks, which were mightily ſwoln by the Rains

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that fall in that Country about that time, which is their Winter, the difference of Seasons being only known by those Rains. The Country they travell'd through is diversified with Meadows, Woods, Groves, Hills and Springs. They came at last to three great Villages call'd *Taraba*, *Tyakappan* and *Palonna*, where they found good Horses. They met some Leagues further the *Palaquessons*, a People compos'd of ten Villages. These are in Alliance with the *Spaniards*.

I cannot but wonder at Father *Anastase's* neglecting to make a more exact Diary of their Voyage, and to be more particular about so many different Nations he speaks off, and therefore I desire the Reader to give me leave to make now and then some Reflections upon this Voyage of M. *de la Salle*, having so intimately known that Gentleman, and travell'd so long with him in *America*. My Description of *Louisiana*, which I printed at *Paris*, did him a very great kindness in relation to his Enterprize.

CHAP.



The Murther of Mons.r de la Salle

M. Vander Gucht Sculs:

CHAP. VII.

M. de la Salle *and three more are unfortunately murther'd by ſome of their own Party.*

AFter they had gone through ſo many different Nations as is above related, there fell out a moſt unhappy Accident, to wit, the Aſſaſſination of M. *de la Salle*, his Nephew *Moranger*, and ſome others M. *de la Salle* was then in a fine Country for hunting: His People regal'd themſelves very plentifully, and refreſh'd themſelves after their tireſome Travel with excellent good Chear for ſeveral days together: He had ſent M. *Moranger* his Nephew, his Laquey *Saget*, and ſeven or eight of his men to a certain place, where *Nika* his Huntſman, who was a Savage *Chaouenon* had laid up a ſtock of wild Bulls Fleſh, that they might get it ſmoak'd and dry'd to carry along with them, and ſo not be oblig'd to halt ſo frequently to hunt for Proviſions.

With all his Prudence, M. *de la Salle* could not diſcover the Conſpiracy of ſome of his People to kill his Nephew, for they reſolv'd upon it, and put it in Execution all of a ſudden on the 17th of *March*, wounding him in the head with a Hatchet. The Blow was ſtruck by a Perſon whom Father *Anaſtaſius* out of Charity would not name; they ſlew likewiſe the Laquey and poor *Nika*, who had provided for them by his Hunting for three years together with toil and danger: *Moranger* languiſhed under his Wound for two Hours, during which time, he gave all poſſible tokens of his Piety, forgiving his Murtherers, and embracing them frequently, reſigning himſelf up to God's good Pleaſure, and relying upon his Saviour's Merits, as his very Murtherers acknowledg'd, when their

Rage was cool'd: He was a very honeſt man and a good Chriſtian.

Theſe Wretches not content with this bloody Fact, reſolv'd not to ſtick there, but contriv'd how to kill their Maſter too, for they fear'd he would have juſtly puniſh'd them for their Crime. Father *Anaſtaſius* ſays, They were two Leagues off the place where *Moranger* was kill'd, and that M. *de la Salle* being concern'd at his Nephews tarrying ſo long (for they had been gone two or three days) was afraid they might have been ſurpriz'd by ſome Party of the Savages; whereupon he deſir'd Father *Anaſtaſius* to go with him to look after his Nephew, and took two Savages along with him; upon the way M. *de la Salle* entertain'd 'em with a pious Diſcourſe of Grace and Predeſtination; but chiefly he enlarg'd upon the great Obligations he was under to divine Providence for preſerving him in the many dangers he had undergone during a twenty Years abode in *America*, nine of which he ſpent in traveling, and I with him; he ſeem'd to be peculiarly affected with God's Goodneſs to him, when all of a ſudden, Father *Anaſtaſius* obſerv'd that he fell into a deep Sorrow of which he himſelf could give no account; he grew mighty unquiet and full of trouble, a temper he was never ſeen in before; Father *Anaſtaſius* did all he could to recover him out of it.

They were got about two Leagues, when he found his Lacquey's bloody Cravat, and perceiv'd two Eagles (a common Bird in thoſe parts) hovering over his head, at the ſame time he ſpied his People by the Water-ſide: he went up to them and enquired for his Nephew, they made him little anſwer, but pointed to the place where he lay. Father *Anaſtaſius* kept going on by the River ſide, till at laſt they came to the fatal place, where two of the Villains lay hid in the Graſs, one on one ſide, and one on the other, with

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their Pieces cock'd, the first presented at M. *de la Salle* but miss'd Fire, the other fired at the same time, and shot him into the head, of which he dy'd an Hour after, *March* 19. 1687.

Father *Anastasius* expected the same fate, but did not reflect upon the danger he was in; he was sensibly touch'd at this cruel Spectacle, seeing M. *de la Salle* fall a little way off from him with his Face all bloody; he ran to him, took him up in his Arms, and wept over him, exhorting him as well as he could in this Conjuncture to die like a good Christian; the unfortunate Gentleman had been at his Devotions just before they set out, and had just time enough to confess part of his Life to Father *Anastasius*, who gave him Absolution, and soon after he died: In these his last Moments he perform'd as far as he was capable whatsoever was proper for one in his condition, he press'd the Father's hand at every thing he said to him, especially when he admonish'd him to forgive his Enemies; mean while the Murtherers struck with Horror at what they had committed, began to beat their Breasts, and detest their Rashness. Father *Anastasius* would not stir from the place till he had bury'd the Body as decently as he could, and plac'd a Cross over his Grave.

Thus fell the Sieur *Robert Cavelier de la Salle*, a Man of considerable Merit, constant in Adversities, fearless, generous, courteous, ingenious, learned and capable of every thing; he labour'd for twenty years together to civilize the savage Humours and Manners of a great number of barbarous People among whom he travell'd, and had the ill hap to be massacred by his own Servants, whom he had enrich'd: he dy'd in the Vigour of his Age in the middle of his Course, before he could execute the designs he had form'd upon *New Mexico*.

CHAP. VIII.

The Author's Reflections upon the Life and Death of M. de la Salle, *whose Murtherers kill'd one another.*

M. *De la Salle* told me several times, whilst we were together in Fort *Frontenac*, before we went upon our Discoveries, and also when we were in pursuit of them, that when he was a Jesuit, having liv'd 10 or 11 years in that Order, the Fathers of that Society caus'd frequent Lectures to be read during the first two Years to all those that enter'd into the Society, of the tragical Deaths and fatal Miscarriages that overtook such as had quitted their Order; and this was done to fix those that were newly entred; I ought to say this out of Justice to M. *de la Salle*, who formerly deposited in my hands all his Papers, whilst he took a Voyage to *France*, and I staid at Fort *Frontenac*, that he quitted his Order with the consent of his Superiours, and that he had written Testimonials of his good Conduct during his stay in that Society. He shew'd me a Letter written at *Rome* by the General of that Order, wherein he testified that the said Sieur *de la Salle* had behav'd himself prudently in every thing without giving the least occasion to be suspected guilty of a venial Sin.

I have a hundred times reflected upon what he has said to me, when we entertain'd our selves with the Stories of our new Discoveries, and I ador'd God for the unsearchableness of his ways, who accomplishes his Will by those means he is pleased to appoint; and uncertain as I was of my Destiny, I gave my self up to his good pleasure, resolv'd to submit patiently in every thing to his divine Providence. Father *Anastasius*

ſius arriv'd at length where was M. *Cavelier*, a Prieſt, Brother of the Defunct M. *de la Salle*, to whom he related his Death, the Murtherers came rudely into the ſame Cabbin or Hut preſently after, and ſeiz'd upon all they found in it, the good Father had not leiſure for a long Harangue, but his Countenance bath'd in Tears, was a ſufficient Intimation of what he had to ſay: M. *Cavelier* at firſt ſight of him, cry'd out, ah! my Brother is dead. I cannot forbear preſenting the publick with ſome accounnt of this Prieſt, M. *Cavelier*, with whom I ſojourn'd in *Canada* during one Summer of my Miſſion to Fort *Frontenac*, of which his Brother was Governour and Proprietor. He was a pious and diſcreet Eccleſiaſtick, perfectly qualified for a Miſſionary: He no ſooner heard this fatal News, but he fell down upon his Knees, and ſo did the Sieur *Cavelier* his Nephew, expecting the Villains came to butcher them, and therefore prepar'd themſelves to die like Chriſtians; but the Aſſaſſines mov'd with Compaſſion at the ſight of the venerable old Man, and being ſorry beſides for their late wicked Deeds, reſolv'd to ſpare them, upon condition that they ſhould never return into *France*, but they were a long time e'er they fixt upon granting them Mercy; ſome of them that had a mind to ſee their Kindred once again, endeavour'd as well as they could to clear themſelves from ſo deteſtable an Action; others ſaid, 'twas ſafeſt to rid their hands of theſe two innocent men, or elſe they might one day call them to an account, if ever they met again in *France*.

They choſe for their Leader the Murtherer of M. *de la Salle*, and upon Deliberation they reſolv'd to go to the famous Nation of the *Cenis* already ſpoken of; ſo they march'd altogether for ſeveral days, and paſs'd divers Rivers. Theſe infamous Murtherers made the two *Caveliers* ſerve them as Va'ets, and gave them nothing but their leavings to eat. They arriv'd without

any rub at the place they wish'd for. A Contest rises betwixt a *German* of *Wittemburg*, nam'd *Hans*, and him that murther'd M. *de la Salle*, about the Superiority of Command, upon this their men divide themselves into two Parties, one follows *Hans*, the other the Murtherer. They were come away from the *Cenis* amongst whom they tarry'd some time, and arriv'd at the *Nassonis*, where the four Deserters whom I mention'd before, rejoyn'd them. Thus they were all got together upon *Ascension Eve*, and the Quarrel betwixt the two Parties, being blown up to that height, that they determin'd to murther one another, Father *Anastasius* made an Exhortation to them upon the Festival day, with which they seem'd to be so touch'd, that they made as if they would confess themselves; but they did not continue long in that mind. Those that most regretted their Masters murther, took to *Hans*'s side. This man two days after taking his opportunity, punish'd one crime with another, for he fir'd a Pistol at the Murtherer of M. *de la Salle*, the Bullet peirc'd his Heart, and he drop'd dead upon the place. One of *Hans*'s Crew shot him that kill'd M. *Moranger* in the side, and before he could well recover himself, another let fly just at his Head, there was no Ball in his Musket, but the Powder set fire to his Hair, which catch'd his Shirt and Cloaths with so much violence and quickness, that he could not put it out, but expir'd in the Flame. The third Conspirator took to his Heels and sav'd himself; *Hans* was mighty eager to make sure of him, and finish in his Death, the vengeance due to M. *de la Salle*; but the Sieur *Joutel* made 'em Friends, and so the matter rested for that time.

Thus *Hans* became the chief Leader of this miserable Troop; they resolv'd to return to the *Cenis*, amongst whom they design'd to settle, for they durst not venture back into *Europe* for fear of meeting the punishment

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their Crimes deserv'd: At that time the *Cenis* were up in arms and ready to march out to fight with the *Kanoatinno* a cruel People, their implacable Enemies. When they take any Prisoners, they throw them alive into a Caldron and boyl them. The *Cenis* then took *Hans* and some other *Europeans* along with them, the rest waited till they should return, though *Hans* would fain have perswaded them all to go, but they would not stir. When *Hans* was gone, they departed out of the Country of the *Cenis*, and amongst 'em were the two *Caveliers*, the Sieur *Joutel*, Father *Anastasius* and others; each had his Horse, Powder, and Lead, with some Goods to defray their Charges upon the way; they made a halt in the Country of the *Nassonis* to celebrate the *Octave* of *la fete dieu*. In their Relations, they say, that the people entertain'd them perpetually with Stories of the Cruelty of the *Spaniards* towards the *Americans*, and told them twenty several Nations were going to make war upon the *Spaniards*, and invited them to go along with them, because, said they, you will do more execution with your Guns, than all our Warriors with their Maces and Arrows. But they had other designs in their Heads, and took occasion in these Discourses to give them to understand that they were come amongst them by express order from God, to instruct them in the knowledge of the Truth, and set them right in the way to Salvation, and this was their employment for 10 or 12 days to the 3d of *June*.

I make no question, but M. *Cavelier* the Priest, and Father *Anastasius* endeavour'd to their utmost to give light to these *Nassonis* and deliver them out of their ignorance. But the four other *Europeans* that were in their company were not enough in number to terrifie the *Spaniards* who are us'd to fire-arms; besides they did not understand the Language of these

People, and therefore I cannot easily comprehend how they could gather from the Discourse of these *Nassonis*, that the *Spaniards* were so cruel to the *Americans*; they had no Interpreters along with them, so that they could not understand a word of what was said to them by these People, who had never seen any other *Europeans* before them.

Moreover 'tis certain, that since the days of the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, the *Spaniards* have not dar'd to execute any Cruelties upon the Natives of *New Mexico*, because they have too few of their own Subjects to guard their Conquests against the insults of their neighbouring *Indians*, were they irritated. No, they live peaceably with them, and trouble no body, unless they are first attack'd.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The Cenis *permit M.* Cavelier *the Prieſt, and Father* Anaſtaſius, *with their Company, to continue their Journey thorough ſeveral barbarous Nations.*

THE *Cenis* gave theſe ſix *Europeans* two Savages for Guides, who took their way thorough the fineſt Country in the World Northwards, and North-Eaſtwards; they paſs'd over four great Rivers, and many Channels made by the Rain, inhabited by divers Nations Eaſtward, they came among the *Haquis*, the *Nabiri*, or the *Naanſi*, a valiant People at War with the *Cenis*, at length they arrived near the *Cadodacchos*, *June* the 13th, one of their Guides went before to inform the Barbarians of their coming. The chief Men and the Youth, whom they found a League from their Village, receiv'd them with the *Calumet*, and gave them ſome Tobacco; ſome led their Horſes by the Bridle, and others carried them about in Triumph; they ſaid they were Spirits come from the other World.

All the Village being come together, the Women according to their Cuſtom waſh'd their Heads and Feet with warm Water, after which they were ſeated upon a Bench cover'd with neat white Mats; then they went to revelling, dancing to the *Calumet*, and made other publick rejoycings Day and Night. Theſe People knew nothing of the *Europeans* but by Report, 'tis to be preſum'd they have ſome ſhadow of Religion amongſt 'em, but all their *Ideas* are very confus'd, and their Notions unaccountable, they ſeem to worſhip the Sun, becauſe they ſend up the Smoak of their Tobacco to him, though they have their ſhare

ſhare on't; their Ceremonial Habits have commonly two Suns deſcribed upon them, and upon the reſt of the Body repreſentations of wild Bulls, Deer, Serpents, or other Animals; the two religious *Europeans* took occaſion from hence, to give them ſome Leſſons concerning the true God, and the principal Myſteries of Chriſtianity; 'tis to be ſuppos'd all this was done by Signs.

In this place God afflicted them by a Tragical Accident, the Sieur *Marne* maugre all Diſſwaſions, would needs bath himſelf, *June* the 24th at Night. M. *Cavelier*, Nephew to M. *de la Salle* went along with him to the River-ſide, which lies pretty near the Village. *Marne* threw himſelf into the Water, and never came up again. 'Twas a Whirlpool that ſuck'd him in, and drowned him in a moment.

A little after his Body was drawn out of the Water, and carried to the Captain's Houſe; all the Village lamented his Death: The Captain's Wife wrapt him up decently in a handſome Mat, while ſome young Men dug a Grave for him, which Father *Anaſtaſius* bleſt; and then they committed him to the Earth with all poſſible Solemnity. The *Barbarians* admir'd the Ceremonies of his Interment, and above all, the ſinging of the Pſalms at his Obſequies. Upon this they offer'd them inſtructions about the immortality of the Soul, and continued to teach them for Eight days, for ſo long they tarried after in that fatal Place; the dead Man was buried upon an Eminence near the Village, his Grave was fenc'd about with Palliſado's, and a great Croſs ſet up over it which was made by the Savages: They departed out of this Country, *July* the 2d.

Theſe People dwell upon the Side of a River, where three other Nations inhabit, the *Natchoos*, *Natchetes* and *Ouidiches*. The Travellers were receiv'd very kindly by all of them. From the River of

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the *Cenis*, where they first met with Beavers and Otters; the farther they advanced Northward, the greater Number they found of those Animals. Whilst they sojourned among the *Ouidiches*, they met with three Warriours of two Nations call'd the *Cabinnio*, and the *Mentous*, who dwelt twenty five Leagues farther, East-North-East, and had seen some Frenchmen. They offer'd to conduct 'em to their Countrymen, and by the way they cross'd four Rivers and Brooks, or Torrents made by the Rain, there they were receiv'd by these Nations with the *Calumet* of Peace in their Hands, with all possible Tokens of Gladness and Esteem. Many of these Savages talkt to 'em of an *European*, who was a Captain, and had but one Hand; this was the Sieur *de Tonti* a Neapolitan, mention'd in my first Volume. They added, that he told 'em, that a greater Captain than himself would probably pass by their Village; meaning the Sieur *de la Salle*.

The chief Man among them lodg'd them in his Cabbin or Hutt, and made his Family go out of it; there they were treated several Days with all sorts of good Cheer. Nay, they order'd a solemn Feast to be kept publickly, wherein they danc'd to the *Calumet* four and twenty Hours together, and sung Songs made purposely for the occasion, which their Captain dictated to them as loud as he could, they entertain'd 'em as Envoys from the Sun, who came to defend them from their Enemies with Thunderbolts, meaning their Musquets which they had never seen before; in the heat of these rejoycings the younger *Cavelier* let off his Pistol three times, crying out *Vive le Roy*, which the Barbarians repeated with a loud Voice; adding, long live the Sun.

These Savages have a prodigious Number of Beavers and Otters in their Country, which might be easily exported by a River near the Village; these Sava-

Savages would have loaded their Horſes with them, but they refus'd them to ſhew they were free from any Self-deſign, and preſented the Barbarians with Hatchets and Knives; at laſt they went away with two *Cahinnio*'s to guide them; after they had receiv'd the Ambaſſadours from the *Analau*, the *Tanico*, and other Nations Northweſt, and South Weſtward, they travers'd for ſome Days the fineſt Country in the World full of Rivers, Meadows, little Woods, Hills, and Vineyards.

Among others they croſs'd over four large Navigable Rivers, and after a March of about ſixty Leagues, they came to the *Oſſotteoez*, who dwell upon a Noble River running from the North-Weſt, upon whoſe Banks grow the fineſt Woods in the Univerſe.

The Skins of Beavers and Otters are every where found in ſo great a Quantity, as well as all other kinds of Hides and Skins of Beaſts, that they throw 'em all in a heap and burn them, of ſo little value are they accounted. 'Tis upon the famous River of the *Akanſa* that ſo many Villages ſtand, as I mention'd in the firſt Tome of my Diſcoveries.

Father *Anaſtaſius* ſays in his Relation, that there they began to know where-abouts they were: At the ſame time he knew very well, that neither he nor any Man in his Company had ever been upon the River *Meſchaſipi*: Indeed I went up it by my ſelf, with two Indians in a Canou in 1680, and afterwards in 1682, M *de la Salle* went up it as high as *Akanſa*: 'Tis highly probable, Father *Anaſtaſius* thought he was then at Fort *Crevecœur*, ſituated in the Country of the *Illinois*, becauſe he found a great Croſs there, and beneath it the King of *France*'s Arms; beſides he ſaw a Houſe built after the *European* way, and upon this the Sieur *Foutel*, and two more that were left diſcharged their Muſquets. At the Noiſe of the Guns out came two French *Canadans*, their Commander's Name

Name was M. *Couture*, whom I knew particularly well when I lived in *Canada*, and was one that made the Voyage along with us to discover the *Louisiana*. This M. *Couture* gave them to know, that he was Posted there by the Sieur *de Ponti*, by order of M. *de la Salle*, to keep up an Alliance with the Neighbouring Savage Nations, and guard them against the Insults of the *Iroquois*, their sworn Foes.

They visited three Villages, the *Forimans*, the *Dodinga*, and the *Kappa*; they receiv'd 'em every where with Feasts, Speeches, Dances, and all other Expressions of Joy. They were lodg'd in the House belonging to this small Fort. These of *Canada* that were settled there entertain'd 'em very kindly, and made them Masters of all. Whatever Affairs these Savages contested about they never decided them immediately, but summon'd together the Chief men, and the most Ancient of the Villages, and deliberated upon the matter in dispute. These Travellers ask'd them for a *Pyrogue*, and some Savages in it to go up the River *Meschasipi*, as far as the *Illinois*, by the River of that Nation, which in my Map of *Louisiana*, I call the River of *Seignelay*, in honour to the Minister of State of that Name, who favour'd and took care about our Discovery. Father *Anastasius* says they offer'd their Horses, some Powder and Lead in exchange for the *Pyrogue*. After the Counsel had met upon this Subject, they came to a resolution to grant them the *Pyrogue* they demanded, and four Savages to man it, one of each Nation to signify the strict Alliance they had made with them. This was punctually executed, so they dismiss'd the *Cabinnio* with Presents to their satisfaction.

Upon this Head I would observe, without pretending to reflect upon M. *de la Salle*, that he undoubtedly never found out the true Mouth of the River *Meschasipi*, nor Father *Anastasius* neither, who never

ver was in that Part of the Country; and if the laſt did luckily light upon it by help of the Savages that guided him, 'twas owing to the Directions he receiv'd from M. *Couture*, Commander of the Skonce; but it may be he will give us more light into this matter hereafter.

CHAP. X.

The Voyage of the Sieur Cavelier *a Prieſt, and Father* Anaſtaſius *a Recollect in a* Pyrogue *to the* Illinois, *and ſeveral Obſervations concerning their Return.*

AFter they had tarried a little time among theſe People, M. *Cavelier*, and Father *Anaſtaſius*, Embarked in the River of *Meſchaſipi*, *Aug.* 1. they croſſed the River the ſame Day in a *Pyrogue* of 40 Foot long. The ſtream was very ſtrong in that Place, ſo they went all a-ſhoar to travel the reſt of the Journey on Foot, becauſe they had left their Horſes at *Akanſa*, though they had done better perhaps to have kept them: They left no Soul in the *Pyrogue* but young *Cavelier*, whoſe tender Age joyn'd with the Fatigue of travelling ſo far, made him uncapable of proſecuting the Journey on Foot. Father *Anaſtaſius* thinks that from the place where they ſet out to the *Illinois*, they had 400 Leagues to march a foot before they could get thither; but all this is ſpoken by gueſs.

One of the Savages went aboard the *Pyrogue* to ſteer it along the River, and one of his Comerades reliev'd him from time to time. The reſt of the Company made no uſe of the *Pyrogue*, but only when they had occaſion to avoid a dangerous Place, or croſs any Rivers;

vers; they underwent a great deal of Toil in this Voyage, the Heats were exceſſive in that ſeaſon, the ſand was burnt by the Sun, but more than all, the want of Food, which they endur'd ſeveral days, reduc'd 'em to extreme hardſhip.

Father *Anaſtaſius* adds, That they were got 200 Leagues over land from the Bay of St. *Louis*, that is to ſay, 100 Leagues to the *Cenis*, 60 to the North North-Eaſt, and 40 to the Eaſt North-Eaſt: from the *Naſſonis* to the *Cadodacchos* 40 North North-Eaſtward, from the *Cadodacchos* to the *Cahinnio* and the *Mentous* 25 to the Eaſt North-Eaſt, and from the *Cahinnio* to the *Akanſa* 60 Eaſt North-Eaſt.

They continued their Progreſs up the River by the ſame way, that they had heard M. *de la Salle* went in 82, except that they went to *Sicacha*. Father *Anaſtaſius*, ſays M. *de la Salle* was not there. I made mention of this Nation in my Diſcovery in 80, in the preceding Volume; their principal Village is twenty five Leagues Eaſt from *Akanſa*. The People are robuſt and numerous, conſiſting at leaſt of 4000 fighting Men: They have abundance of all ſorts of Skins and Hides. Their Leaders often brought the *Calumet* to them to ſignifie that they were willing to make an Alliance with them; nay they offer'd to go and ſettle themſelves upon the River *Ouabache* to be nearer Fort *Crevecœur* in the Country of the *Illinois*, whither they were travelling.

This famous River of *Ouabache* is full as large as *Meſchaſipi*; a great many other Rivers run into it, the out-let where it diſcharges it ſelf into *Meſchaſipi* is 200 Leagues from *Akanſa* according to M. *de la Salle*'s Computation; the truth is it is not ſo far croſs the Country, but it may be as much in following the courſe of the River *Meſchaſipi*, which winds about very much. Straight over land 'tis not above 5 good days journey.

They

They croſs'd the River *Ouabache*, *Auguſt* 26. and found it full 60 Leagues along the River *Meſchaſipi* to the mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, about 6 Leagues below the mouth of that River North-Weſtward, is the famous River of the *Maſſourites* or the *Orages*, which is as large at leaſt as the River it falls into. It is made up of ſeveral other known navigable Rivers inhabited by numerous Nations, as the *Panimaha*, who have but one Captain and 22 Villages, the leaſt of which contains 200 Cabbins. The *Paneaſſa*, the *Pana*, the *Panaloga*, and the *Metotantes*, each of which is as conſiderable as the *Panimaha*.

The *Orages* have 17 Villages upon a River of their name, that diſcharges it ſelf into that of the *Maſſourites*. Our Maps and thoſe of M. *de la Salle*, have placed the *Orages* there. Formerly the *Akanſa* dwelt a great way up one of theſe Rivers, which bears their name ſtill, and which I take notice of about the midſt of the paſſage of the River *Ouabache* to that of the *Maſſourites*; there lies the Cape of St. *Anthony* of *Padua*, and thereabouts live the Savage Nation of the *Manſopolea*.

Sept. 5. M. *Cavelier* and Father *Anaſtaſius* arriv'd at the mouth of the River of the *Illinois*: 'tis reckon'd 100 Leagues from thence to Fort *Crevecœur*, as I remark'd in my firſt Volume. The paſſage all the way is clear and navigable by large Veſſels. A *Chaouenon* nam'd *Turpin*, having ſeen them enter his Village, ran by land to carry the News to M. *Belle Fontaine*, Commander of that Fort; he could not believe what he told him, but they follow'd apace after the Barbarian, and came to the Fort, *Sept.* 14. preſently they conducted them to the Chapel, where *Te Deum* was thankfully ſung. The *Canadans* that were in the place, and ſome Savages fir'd Volleys of Muskets.

M. *de Tonti*, whom M. *de la Salle* deſign'd to be Commander of Fort *Crevecœur*, was gone among the

Iroquois

Iroquois to diſpoſe thoſe Barbarians to an Alliance. Theſe Travellers were receiv'd with all the kindneſs imaginable, and M. *de Belle-Fountain* omitted no Teſtimony of his joy to ſee them ſafely arriv'd.

It muſt be confeſt, that no man can evade his Deſtiny. At the ſame time it muſt likewiſe be acknowledged that the Diſaſter of M. *de la Salle* had ſomething very fatal in it; he undertook this great Voyage with deſign to find out the mouth of the River *Meſchaſipi*, but unfortunately fell by the way without ſucceeding in his Enterprize, and yet juſt after his Death, his Brother, Father *Anaſtaſius*, &c. went up that River and arriv'd at the *Illinois*.

'Tis indubitable, nevertheleſs, that there is an excellent Haven at the mouth of this River, as I obſerv'd in 80. The entry into it is very convenient, as may be eaſily ſeen. Of the three arms that compoſe this out-let, I always follow'd the Channel of that in the middle. 'Tis a commodious Harbour, and has ſeveral places fit to raiſe Fortreſſes upon, that are in no danger of being overflow'd, as has formerly been thought. The lower part or mouth of the River is habitable, and is inhabited by ſeveral ſavage Nations that don't lie far from it. The greateſt Veſſels may go up above 200 Leagues from the Gulph of *Mexico*, as far as the mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, which River is navigable for above 100 Leagues, and diſcharges it ſelf into the River *Meſchaſipi*. At the lower end of the River dwell ſeveral other Nations, which I forgot, as the *Picheno*, the *Ozanbogus*, the *Tangibao*, the *Ottonika*, the *Moviſa*, and many others, whoſe names eaſily eſcape ones Memory, when one paſſes through them without leiſure, or conveniency to take neceſſary obſervations and notes.

'Tis probable that M. *de la Salle* not finding the Mouth of that River in the Sea, fanſied that the Bay of St. *Lewis*, was not above 40 or 50 Leagues from the

Mouth of one of its Arms, at leaſt in a ſtrait line; but by misfortune he never was at it. God ſets bounds to all Men, and their Enterpriſes, to all the deſires of their Hearts, as well as to the vaſt Ocean.

Doubtleſs God permitted it ſo to be, that Father *Anaſtaſius* who is now Vicar of the Recollects at *Cambray*, ſhould diſcover 110 Nations in his Travels, without taking into the Number many more Savage People well known to thoſe he convers'd with *en paſſant*, becauſe they traffick with them, which at the ſame time were never ſeen by any *European*.

Theſe People, as I have already noted, have very good Horſes, fit for any ſervice in abundance. They think themſelves well paid for a Horſe, if one gives them a Hatchet.

Father *Anaſtaſius* went from the Bay of St. *Lewis* to the Gulph of *Mexico* with deſign to ſettle a Miſſion among the *Cenis* in his 2d Voyage. Father *Zenobius Membré* Recollect, who ſtaid behind at the ſaid Bay, was to have come and joyn'd him, to the end they might ſpread the Faith among the neighbouring Nations. They expected from *Europe* a great number of Labourers, but the death of M. *de la Salle* obliging him to proceed further he don't doubt but Father *Zenobius* has been there to look for him.

So it may be he is now in that Country with Father *Maximus* a Recollect and Native of *Liſle* in *Flanders*, and that they have left the Sieur *Chefdeville* a Miſſionary of St *Sulpicius*, at the Miſſion of the Port in that Bay. He determin'd himſelf to be there, becauſe there were nine or ten *European* Families there with their Children, beſides ſome of M. *de la Salle's* men have marry'd with the Women of the Country to augment the little Colony. This is the Extract of Father *Anaſtaſius's* account of his toilſome Voyage. What are become of the people left in thoſe parts ſince that time, we know not.

Father

Father *Anaſtaſius* conceal'd the deplorable Fate of M. *de la Salle*, becauſe 'twas his duty as well as M. *Cavelier*'s the Prieſt, to carry the firſt news of it to Court, and ſecure the effects of the deceas'd in the ſaid Fort of the *Illinois*, becauſe he advanc'd Money upon the enterprize. He departed from the *Illinois* in the Spring, 1688, together with Father *Anaſtaſius*, young *Cavelier*, M. *Joutel*, and one Barbarian, who dwells at preſent near *Verſailles*; they arriv'd at *Quebec*, *July* 27, and ſet ſail for *France* the 20th of *Auguſt* following. God granted them a favourable paſſage to *Paris*, after having run through incredible Dangers; and they gave an account of their Voyage to the late Marquis *de Seignelay*.

This is the ſtory of M. *de la Salle*'s laſt Voyage, which I thought my ſelf oblig'd to give the world, becauſe 'tis a continuation of mine, and confirms ſeveral things related in my account. I go on now to deſcribe the Religion and Manners of thoſe barbarous Nations, which I diſcover'd in my Voyage.

CHAP. XI.

The Author's Reflections upon the Voyage to China; *the opinion of moſt of the Savages of* North America *concerning the Creation of the World, and the Immortality of the Soul.*

'TIS a common ſaying, that Truth is the very Soul and Eſſence of Hiſtory: now this account of the Manners of the Savages of *North America* being taken ſincerely, needs no other recommendation. Novelty and Variety joyn together to pleaſe the Reader, tho' I treat of barbarous unpoliſh'd People; and therefore I hope, that a Deſcription of 200 different Nations, which I have either ſeen my ſelf, or been inform'd of by ſome religious that have been among them, will divert the curious.

The Son of God having foretold, that his Goſpel ſhould be preach'd throughout the Univerſe, the faithfull have always intereſted themſelves in forwarding the accompliſhment of that Prophecy, and labour'd to convert thoſe barbarous Nations who have no knowledge of the true God. 'Tis true, that multitude of ſavage People which inhabit the vaſt Countries of *America*, have had their Eyes ſhut againſt the Light of Truth: but we have already begun to preach Chriſt crucifi'd to them, to the beſt of our skill, that we might bring them to Salvation. We hope therefore that thoſe who are ſtirr'd up by the Love of God, will not be wanting for the future to finiſh what we have begun, but endeavour the Sal-

vation

vation of so many Souls, who might not perish, if Christians would help them to get out of their natural Blindness. To clear the way, and direct the means to it, we are going to give an account of the Ideas these People have of Religion, and likewise of their Manners, that so we may the more readily contrive the method of their Conversion, and in what manner to instruct them, to render them capable of receiving the truth and eternal Salvation.

Our Discoveries have acquainted us with most part of *North America*, so that I don't question if the King of *Great Britain*, and the States of *Holland* should think fit to send us back thither to finish what we have so happily begun, but we should demonstrate what we could never yet give a clear account of, though many attempts have been made to it. It has been found impossible hitherto to go to *Japan* by the Frozen Sea; that Voyage has often been frustrated; and I am morally assur'd, that we can never succeed in it, till we have first discovered the Continent betwixt the Frozen Sea and *New Mexico*. I am perswaded that God preserv'd me in all the great dangers of my long Voyages, that I might perfect that happy Discovery; and I here offer my self to undertake it, not doubting the success of the Enterprize (God willing) provided I am furnish'd with convenient means.

I don't wonder, that the learned are at a loss how *America* was peopled, and that infinite number of Nations settled upon that vast Continent. *America* is half the terrestrial Globe. The most expert Geographers are not throughly acquainted with it, and the Inhabitants themselves, whom we discover'd, and who in all likelihood should know best, don't know

how their Anceſtors came thither; and certainly if in *Europe* we wanted the Art of Writing (as thoſe People do) which in a manner makes the dead live again, recalls what's paſt, and preſerves the memory of things, I am afraid we ſhould not be leſs ignorant than thoſe Savages.

The greateſt part of the Barbarians in *North America* have generally a Notion of ſome ſort of Creation of the World; they ſay, Heaven, Earth and Mankind were made by a Woman, and that ſhe and her Son govern the World, and for this reaſon, perhaps it is, that they reckon their Genealogies by Women. They ſay farther, that the Son is the Author of all good things, and the Woman of all Evil. That both of them enjoy perfect Felicity. The Woman, they ſay, fell out of Heaven big with Child, and lighted upon the back of a Tortiſe, who ſav'd her from drowning. When we object againſt the Ridiculouſneſs of their Belief, they uſually anſwer, that ſuch an Objection is of force with them that make it, but is of no weight againſt them, becauſe they look upon themſelves to be created after another manner than the *Europeans* are.

Other Savages upon the ſame Continent, are of opinion, that a certain Spirit call'd *Otkon* by the *Iroquois*, and *Atahauta* by the other Barbarians at the Mouth of the River of St. *Laurence*, is the Creator of the World, and that one *Meſſou* repair'd it after the Deluge. In this manner do they alter and confound by their Traditions that Knowledge of the univerſal Deluge, which their Anceſtors probably had: they ſay, that this *Meſſou* or *Otkon* being a hunting one day, his Dogs loſt themſelves in a great Lake, which thereupon overflowing, cover'd the whole Earth in a

ſhort

ſhort time, and ſwallow'd up the World. They add, That this *Meſſou* or *Otkon* gather'd a little Earth together by the help of ſome Animals, and made uſe of this Earth to repair the World again. They think the *Europeans* inhabit another World different from theirs; and when we go about to undeceive them, and teach them truly how the univerſe was created, they ſay all that may be true enough of the World we live upon, but 'tis quite another thing with theirs; Nay, they often ask us, whether we have a Sun and Moon in *Europe* as well as they.

There are another ſort of Savages who dwell at the Mouth of the River of St. *Laurence* and *Meſchaſipi*, that tell us a very odd Story; they ſay much like the former that a Woman came down from Heaven, and hover'd a while in the Air, becauſe ſhe could find no place to ſet her Foot upon. The Fiſh of the Sea compaſſionating her, held a Council to determine who ſhould receive her. The Tortoiſe offer'd himſelf, and preſented his Back above Water, the Woman plac'd her ſelf upon it, and ſtaid there. In time the Filth of the Sea gathering and ſetling about the Tortoiſe by little and little, form'd a great extent of Land, which at preſent is that we call *America*.

Now ſay they, this ſame Woman being uneaſie at her living ſolitarily, and troubled to have no body to paſs the time with, more agreeably than ſhe did; there deſcended from on high a Spirit, who found her faln aſleep with melancholy; he approach'd her unperceiv'd, and from that Conjunction came forth two Sons out of her ſide; theſe two Children could never agree together after they were grown up. One was a better Hunter than t'other, and every day there was ſome ſcuffling between 'em. At length

their Animosities grew to that Extremity, that they could not endure one another: One of them especially was of a very violent humour, and had a mortal hatred for his Brother, who was better temper'd, the last unable any longer to submit to the rude behaviour, and ill treatment which the other bestow'd upon him perpetually, resolv'd to separate himself from him; so he flew up into Heaven, whence to denote his just resentment, he rattles his Thunder from time to time over his unhappy Brother's head.

Some time after the Spirit came down again to the Woman, and then she brought forth a Daughter from whom say the Savages is descended, that numerous People who now take up one of the largest Parts of the Universe.

How fabulous soever this Story be in it self, yet we may discern a run of Truth in it. This Womans sleep and the Birth of two Sons, has something in it akin to *Adam's* sleep, whilst God took one of his Ribs to form *Eve*.

The disagreement of the two Brothers resembles the irreconcilable Hatred of *Cain* and *Abel*; the retreat of one of 'em to Heaven, represents the Death of *Abel*, and the Thunder grumbling in the Sky may be compar'd with the Curse pronounc'd by God, upon the wretched *Cain*, for inhumanly killing his Brother.

'Tis a lamentable thing to consider what wild Chimæra's the Devil puts in these People's heads. Tho' they believe that the Soul is Corporeal (for they understand nothing else by their *Otkon*, *Atahauta*, or *Manitou*, but some material principal Being, that gives

gives life and motion to all things) nevertheless they profess their Belief of the Immortality of the Soul, and a Life to come, in which they shall enjoy all sorts of pleasure; as Hunting, and Fish in abundance, Corn for those that sow it, for some never sow Corn; Tobacco, and a thousand other Curiosities and Conveniencies. They say the Soul does not leave the Body as soon as it dies, and therefore they take care to lay by the Body a Bow, Arrows, Corn, and fat Meat, for the Dead to subsist upon till they reach the Country of Souls.

And because they think all sensible things have Souls, therefore they reckon that after Death, men hunt the Souls of Beavers, Elks, Foxes, Otters, and other Animals. They believe that the Souls of those Rackets which they wear under their Feet in Winter-time to keep 'em from sinking into the Snow, serve 'em for the same use in the next Life, as well as the Souls of Bows and Arrows to kill Beasts with. And so they fansie of the Fish likewise, and therefore the Souls will have occasion say they for the Arms interr'd with the Dead; the dead Bodies have no need of the Arms and Victuals that are set by 'em, no longer than till they get to the Country of Souls.

They imagine that the Souls walk visibly for some time in the Villages, and partake of their Feasts and Revels, therefore they always set aside a Portion for them. Nay several of these Nations go so far as to make certain general Feasts for the Dead, accompanied with Songs and horrible Cries, Feasts wherein all that is brought is to be eaten up; Dances and Presents of divers kinds. They take up the dead Bodies in the Village, and the very Bones of those that are consumed which they call Packets of Souls, they

remove

remove 'em from one Sepulchre to another, adorn'd with dreſs'd Skins, Collars of Porcelain, and other like Riches, ſuch as their Country affords: They believe all this contributes mainly to the Happineſs of the Dead.

I will not be tedious in ſumming up particularly all their ſuperſtitious Opinions upon this Subject, in relation to the different Places or Employs they aſſign to them, the manner of their living, their Wars, Peace, Policy and Laws: All extravagant, ridiculous Traditions founded upon Fables invented by their Anceſtours, and deliver'd to their Poſterity for credible Truths, and as ſuch receiv'd and firmly held by them.

One would be apt to ſuſpect that theſe Savages of *America* originally ſprung from the Jews, ſome of whom might caſually have been wreckt, and caſt upon that Part of the World; for they have ſeveral Cuſtoms not unlike theirs; they make their Cabbins in the form of Tents, like as the Jews did; they anoint themſelves with Oil, and are ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to Divination from Dreams. They bewail over the Dead with great lamentation. The Women go into mourning for their near Relations a whole Year, during which time they abſtain from dancing and feaſting, and wear a ſort of a Hood upon their Heads, and commonly the Father or Brother of the Deceas'd take care of the Widow.

Beſides it ſeems as if God had laid a particular Malediction upon 'em, as he did upon the Jews: They are brutiſh, and perſiſt unalterably in their Opinions; they have no certain fix'd Place of Abode; they are very laſcivious, and have ſuch groſs Conceptions,

ceptions, that when we tell 'em Souls are immortal and immaterial, they ask what they eat in the other World. Moreover we may obſerve ſome Conformity between *Moſes*'s Relation of the Creation of the World, and the Belief of theſe Savages about it, as I obſerved above. But to ſpeak frankly, theſe Barbarians ſeem to have no kind of *Idæa* of the Deity, and yet they believe another Life in which they hope to enjoy the ſame Delights, that they are pleaſed with here. They live without any ſubordination, without Laws or any form of Government or Policy. They are ſtupid in matters of Religion, ſubtle and crafty in their Worldly concerns; but exceſſively ſuperſtitious.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

What Method is most proper to convert the Savages; what Manner of Persons they are that ought not to be baptized.

OUR ancient Missionary Recollects of *Canada*, and those that succeeded them in that work, have always given it for their opinion, as I now own 'tis mine, that the way to succeed in converting the Barbarians, is to endeavour to make them men before we go about to make them Christians. Now in order to civilize them, 'tis necessary that the *Europeans* should mix with them, and that they should dwell together, which can never be done for certain till the Colonies are augmented: but it must be acknowledged, that the Company of *Canada* Merchants, have made great Obstacles to the encreasing of the Colonies; for out of greediness to keep all the Trade in their own hands, these Gentlemen would never permit any particular Society to settle themselves in the Country, nor suffer the Missionaries to perswade the Barbarians to dwell constantly in a place. Yet before this be done, there's no way to convert these Unbelievers. Thus the covetousness of those who are for getting a great deal in a short time, has mightily retarded the establishment of the Gospel among the Savages.

Hence 'tis manifest, that the office of a Missionary is very troublesome and laborious, amongst these numerous Nations, and it must be granted that 'tis necessary to spend many Years, and undergo a great deal of pains to civilize People so extremely stupid and barbarous.

And

And therefore, one would not venture without much caution, to administer the Sacraments to adult Persons, who pretend themselves Converts; for we see that after so many Years of Mission, there has been but little progress made, though no pains have been wanting on the Missionary's hands.

So that Christianity is not like to gain much ground among the Savages, till the Colonies are strengthened by a great Number of Inhabitants, Artisans and Workmen, and then the Treaty betwixt the Barbarians and us should be freer, and extended to all *Europeans*: But chiefly it should be endeavour'd to fix the Barbarians to a certain dwelling Place, and introduce our Customs and Laws amongst them, further'd by the Assistance of zealous People in *Europe*, Colleges might be founded to breed up the young Savages in the Christian Faith, which might in time contribute very much to the Conversion of their Country-men. This is a very proper Method without doubt, to strengthen the Temporal and Spiritual Interests of the Colonies; but the generality of Mankind are bent upon Gain and Traffick, and are little concern'd to procure God's Blessing upon them, and endeavour the advancement of his Glory.

God is often pleas'd to prove his Children, and amongst 'em those that employ themselves in saving Souls, by those means that most afflict them, but Dangers, Labours, Sufferings, and even Death it self would be welcome to them, provided in sacrificing themselves for the Salvation of their Brethren, God would afford them the Consolation to see their Undertakings Crown'd with success to his Glory, and the Conversion of Infidels.

It

It is impoſſible for us to look upon ſo great a Number of People as this relation mentions, and conſider the little progreſs Religion has made among the Savages of theſe vaſt Countries, but we muſt needs admire the inſcrutable Decrees of God, and cry out with the Apoſtle, *O the Depth of the Riches of the Wiſdom and Knowledge of God!* a great Number of learned ſecular Prieſts, and zealous Religious men of our Order, have carried the Light of the Goſpel into all Parts of the Earth, and labour'd hard in the Lord's Vineyard. But God would have us know, that the Converſion of Souls is the Work of his Grace, the bleſſed Moments of which are not yet come.

I cannot help ſaying with Grief, that there is a great deal of difference between the modern Miſſions into *America*, and thoſe which our Recollects began in the New World, and continued in the Southern Parts of *America*; there they daily converted Millions of Souls; but in *Canada* we find the Ground barren and unfruitfull, nothing but blindneſs and inſenſibility, a prodigious Diſtance from God, and even an entire oppoſition to the Myſtery of our Faith. Whole Ages are requir'd to prepare theſe Barbarians for the Goſpel, before we can expect to ſee it flouriſh there: And to add to our affliction God has permitted that the Country ſhould be in the hands of a Company of Merchants, who think of nothing but their private Intereſt, and are unconcern'd for the Propagation of the Faith.

Our Ancient Miſſionary's Recollects did not grant the Sacrament of Baptiſm to the Savages but with great Caution, for fear the Sacred Myſtery ſhould be profaned by the Barbarians; and in our Days we ſee theſe Nations not at all diſpos'd to Chriſtianity: They

ſeem

seem to have no Sense at all of Religion in general to be incapable of the most common reasonings, that lead other Men to the knowledge of a Deity true or false.

These miserable dark Creatures listen to all we say concerning our Mysteries, just as if 'twere a Song; they are naturally very vitious, and addicted to some Superstitions that signifie nothing; there Customs are savage, brutal and barbarous; they will suffer themselves to be baptized ten times a Day for a Glass of Brandy, or a Pipe of Tobacco, and offer their Children to be baptiz'd, but all without any Religious Motive. Those that one takes the pains to instruct, for a Winter together, as I my self taught some of them while I dwelt at Fort *Frontenac*, give no better signs of Edification, than others in our Articles of Faith: So wrapt up are they in Insensibility, to what concerns Religion, which occasion'd terrible Checks of Conscience in our Religious, in the beginning of their Mission among the People of *Canada*; they saw that the few Persons of years of Discretion that they had instructed, and afterwards admitted to Baptism, soon fell again into their ordinary indifference for Salvation, and that the Children follow'd the unhappy Example of their Parents, insomuch that 'twas no better than a plain profanation of Baptism to administer it to them.

The Case was search'd into to the bottom, and argued upon with much application; nay, 'twas carried into the *Sorbonne*; at length, after all possible diligent Scrutiny into the matter it was concluded, that as for Persons of years, and Children near the Point of Death, and who in all humane Probability would certainly soon give up the Ghost; they might venture to baptize them if they demanded it, because it might

might be juſtly preſum'd, that in that extremity God inſpir'd the adult Perſons with his Grace, as 'twas thought it had been obvious in ſome of them; but they declar'd, that as for the other Savages, they ought not to be baptiz'd, until after long obſervation and experience, they were perceiv'd to be well inclined and inſtructed, having a right apprehenſion of our Myſteries, and had quitted their barbarous Cuſtoms, they declar'd further that they might adminiſter Baptiſm to thoſe who dwelt conſtantly among the Chriſtians, were brought up in the ſame way of living, were civiliz'd, and above all were well inſtructed, and that they ſhould baptize their Children; and they compos'd a Form, and likewiſe a kind of fundamental Canon, for a Rule to theſe Miſſionaries, to which they were abſolutely to conform themſelves in the Functions of their Employ.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The Barbarians of North-America *don't acknowledg any God. Of the pretended Souls of terrestrial Animals.*

OUr antient Missionaries Recollects were acquainted with several different Nations within the compass of 600 Leagues in *North-America*; and I have been among many more, because I went farther than any of them, having made a Voyage all along the River of St. *Lawrence*, and *Meschasipi*. I observed, as my Predecessors, that the Savages don't want good Sense in what concerns the general and particular Interest of their Nation. They pursue their Point, and take right Methods to come to the end of their designs: but 'tis what I am astonish'd at, that whilst they are so clear sighted in their common Affairs, they should have such extravagant notions of the concerns of Religion, the Manners, Laws, and Maxims of Life.

We must all of us own, that almost all the Savages in general have no Belief of a Deity, and that they are incapable of the common and ordinary Arguments and Reasonings that the rest of Mankind are led by upon this Subject; so dark and stupid are their Understandings. At the same time we may acknowledg, that now and then in some of them we discover some glimmerings of a confus'd Notion of God. Some will confess, but very cloudily, that the Sun is God: Others say, 'tis a Genius that rules in the Air: Some again look upon the Heavens as a kind of Divinity. But these only make a shew of believing some-

thing that we can hardly gueſs at: we can't fix them to any ſettled Principle. The Nations Southward ſeem to believe an Univerſal Spirit that governs all: they imagine after a faſhion, that there's a Spirit in every thing, even in thoſe that are inanimate; and they addreſs themſelves to it ſometimes, and beg ſomething of it; as we took notice of one Barbarian, who made a kind of Sacrifice upon an Oak, at the Caſcade of St. *Antony* of *Padua*, upon the River *Meſchaſipi*.

All theſe Nations don't profeſs their Belief of a Deity out of any reſpect to Religion: They talk of it ordinarily, as a thing they were prepoſſeſſed with; or frolickſomly, not regarding any thing they ſay themſelves, any otherwiſe than as a kind of Fable. They have no outward Ceremony to ſignify that they worſhip any Deity: There's no Sacrifice, Prieſt, Temple, nor any other Token of Religion amongſt them.

Their Dreams are to them inſtead of Prophecy, Inſpiration, Laws, Commandments, and Rules, in all their Enterprizes, in War, Peace, Commerce, and Hunting: They regard them as Oracles. The Opinion they have of their Dreams draws them into a kind of neceſſity to be ruled by them; for they think 'tis an Univerſal Spirit, that inſpires them by Dreams, and adviſeth them what to do: And they carry this ſo far, that if their Dream orders them to kill a Perſon, or commit any other wicked Action, they preſently execute it, and make ſatisfaction for it afterwards, as we ſhall ſhew anon. The Parents dream for their Children, the Captains for their Village. There are ſome among them, that take upon them to interpret Dreams, and explain them after their own fancy or inclination; and if their Interpretations don't prove true, they are not lookt upon as Cheats ere the more for that.

Some

Some have taken notice, that when they meet with any Caſcade or Fall of Waters, which is difficult to croſs, and apprehend any danger, they throw a Bever's Skin, Tobacco, Porcelain, or ſome ſuch matter into it by way of Sacrifice, to gain the Favour of the Spirit that preſides there.

There's no Nation but what have their Jugglers, which ſome count Sorcerers: but 'tis not likely that they are under any Covenant, or hold communication with the Devil. At the ſame time, one may venture to ſay, that the evil Spirit has a hand in the Tricks of theſe Jugglers, and makes uſe of them to amuſe theſe poor People, and render them more incapable of receiving the Knowledg of the true God. They are very fond of theſe Jugglers, tho they cozen them perpetually.

Theſe Impoſtors would be counted Prophets, who foretel things to come: they would be look'd upon as having almoſt an infinite Power: they boaſt that they make Rain or fair Weather, Calms and Storms, Fruitfulneſs or Barrenneſs of the Ground, Hunting lucky or unlucky. They ſerve for Phyſicians too, and frequently apply ſuch Remedies, as have no manner of virtue to cure the Diſtemper.

Nothing can be imagin'd more horrible than the Cries and Yellings, and the ſtrange Contorſions of theſe Raſcals, when they fall to juggling or conjuring; at the ſame time they do it very cleverly. They never cure any one, nor predict any thing that falls out, but purely by chance: mean time they have a thouſand Fetches to bubble the poor people, when the accident does not anſwer their Predictions and Remedies; for, as I ſaid, they are both Prophets and Quacks. They do nothing without Preſents or Reward. 'Tis true, if theſe Impoſtors are not very dexterous at recommending themſelves, and bringing themſelves off, when any perſon dies under their

hands, or Enterprizes do not succeed as they promis'd, they are sometimes murdered upon the place, without any more Formality.

These blind Wretches are wedded to many other Superstitions, which the Devil makes use of to delude them: They believe that several kinds of Animals have a reasonable Soul: They have an unaccountable Veneration for certain Bones of Elks, Bevers, and other Beasts; they never throw these to their Dogs, which are the only Domestick Animals they keep, because they serve for Hunting: So they preserve these precious Bones, and are very unwilling to cast them into the River. They pretend, that the Souls of these Animals come back into the World to see how they treat their Bodies, and give notice accordingly to the rest of the Beasts both dead and living; and that if they should find they are ill us'd, the Beasts of that kind would never let themselves be taken, neither in this World nor the next.

One may say, that the Corruption of Sin has spread a strange Darkness in the Souls of these unhappy people, and a perfect Insensibility to all Religion; insomuch that they are not to be match'd in any History. 'Tis true, they are obstinately superstitious in some things; and yet at the same time, they are not mov'd by any principle of Religion. 'Tis nothing but strong Prejudice and Imagination. When we dispute with them, and put them to a nonplus, they hold their tongues; their Minds are stupid, their Faculties are besotted. If we propose our Mysteries to them, they heed them as indifferently as their own nonsensical Whimsies. I have met with some of them, who seem to acknowledg that there is one first Principle that made all things; but this makes but a slight Impression upon their Mind, which returns again to its ordinary Deadness, and former Insensibility.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the great difficulties in converting the Savages. Of the Prayers they get by rote; and of Martyrdom.

THE great Inſenſibility of theſe Barbarians is cauſed principally by their Careleſneſs and neglect to be throughly inſtructed. They come to us, and attend to what we ſay, purely out of Idleneſs, and natural Curioſity to converſe with us, as we with them; or rather they are tempted to follow us, by the Kindneſs and Flatteries we expreſs towards them, or becauſe of the Benefit their Sick receive from us, or out of hope to gain by trafficking with us; or laſtly, becauſe we are Europeans, and they think us ſtouter than themſelves, and hope we will defend them from their Enemies.

We teach them Prayers; but they repeat them like Songs, without any diſtinction by Faith. Thoſe we have catechized a long time, are very wavering, except ſome few: They renounce all, return into their Woods, and take up their old Superſtitions upon the leaſt Crotchet that comes into their Heads.

I don't know whether their Predeceſſors had any Knowledg of a God; but 'tis certain their Language, which is very natural and expreſſive in every thing elſe, is ſo barren on this Subject, that we can't find any expreſſion in it to ſignify the Deity, or any one of our Myſteries, not even the moſt common: this gives us great perplexity when we would convert them.

Another great Obſtacle to their Converſion is this: Moſt of them have ſeveral Wives; and in the Northern parts they change them as often as they pleaſe:

They can't conceive how people can tie themſelves indiſſolubly to one perſon in Marriage. See how ſilly you are, cry they, when we argue with them about it. My Wife is uneaſy to me, I am ſo to her; ſhe'll agree very well with ſuch a one, who is at odds with his Wife: now why ſhould we four lead a miſerable Life all our days?

Another hindrance lies in a Cuſtom of theirs, not to contradict any Man; they think every one ought to be left to his own Opinion, without being thwarted: they believe, or make as if they believed all you ſay to them; but 'tis their Inſenſibility, and Indifference for every thing, eſpecially Matters of Religion, which they never trouble themſelves about.

America is no place to go to out of a deſire to ſuffer Martyrdom, taking the Word in a Theological Senſe: The Savages never put any Chriſtian to death upon the ſcore of his Religion; they leave every body at liberty in Belief: They like the outward Ceremonies of our Church, but no more. Theſe Barbarians never make War, but for the Intereſt of their Nation; they don't kill people, but in particular Quarrels, or when they are brutiſh, or drunk, or in revenge, or infatuated with a Dream, or ſome extravagant Viſion: they are incapable of taking away any Perſon's Life out of hatred to his Religion.

They are brutiſh in all their Inclinations; they are naturally Gluttons, and know no other Happineſs in this Life, but the pleaſure of eating and drinking: This is remarkable in their very Eyes, and their Diverſions, which are always begun and ended with feaſting.

The Paſſion of Revenge which they are poſſeſſed with, is another great Obſtacle to Chriſtianity: They are very tender and affectionate to their own Nation, but cruel and revengeful beyond imagination towards their Enemies: They are naturally Inconſtant,

ſtant, Revilers, Scoffers, and Laſcivious. In ſhort, among all the Vices they are addicted to, we can perceive no Principle of Religion or Morality; and to be ſure this muſt needs render their Converſion extremely difficult.

To perſwade them to any thing, and diſpoſe them to the Faith, 'tis requiſite to make them familiar with us, and contract a good acquaintance with them; but this is not to be done preſently, becauſe firſt of all the Colonies ought to be multiplied, and planted every where. When they have paſs'd away a few Weeks with the Europeans, they are oblig'd to go to War, Hunting, or Fiſhing, for their Subſiſtence, and this depraves 'em extremely. They ſhould be fix'd, inticed to clear the Ground, and cultivate it, and work at ſeveral Trades, as the Europeans do; and then we ſhould ſee 'em reform their barbarous Cuſtoms, and become more civiliz'd, as well towards one another as us.

In another place we ſhall treat of the other Southern Nations, who ſeem better diſpos'd to receive the Goſpel than thoſe of the North.

CHAP. XV.

The manner of Feaſting among the Savages.

THey have Feaſts at parting from one another, Feaſts of Thanks, War, Peace, Death, Marriage, and Health. They continue revelling night and day, particularly when they hold thoſe Feaſts, which they term, *Eat up all:* For then they don't permit any one to quit the Company till all be eaten up. And if a Perſon is not able to ſtuff any longer, he is oblig'd to hire another into his place.

They have other Feasts for the recovery of the Sick, and some ordinary common Feasts. Formerly they kept wanton Festivals, where the Men and Women mingled together promiscuously, and plaid most abominable lewd Pranks. But if they make such Entertainments now a-days, 'tis very rarely, and when they are at a great distance from the Europeans.

When they undertake a War, 'tis commonly to recover satisfaction for some Injury, that they pretend has been done to them: Sometimes they engage in it, upon account of a Dream, and often as a Fancy takes 'em: Sometimes they enter into it, because other People jeer them: You're a Coward, say they; You never were in a Battle; You have kill'd no Body yet. Then are they rouz'd by Honour, and after they have kill'd some Fallow Deer, make a Feast, and exhort their Neighbours to accompany them in their Enterprize.

When they have a mind to go singly, and alone, they make no Feasts, but only order their Wives to get them some Meal of Indian Corn, because they are going to War. But if they would have Companions, they go through all the Villages to invite the young Men, who take their Platters of Wood, or Bark of Birch: Then they rendezvouz at the Cabin of him who invited them, which they commonly enter, singing Warlike Songs. I am going to War, I will revenge the Death of such a Kinsman, I will slay, I will burn, I will bring away Slaves, I will eat Men, and such like Expressions that breathe nothing but Cruelty.

When all the Crew are assembled, they fill the Kettles of those that have any, or else their Porringers of Wood or Bark: then they sit down to eat; and during the Entertainment, he that invited them to the Feast, sings without intermission, and exhorts them to follow him.

All this while they speak not one word, and eat up

all they have given them in profound Silence, except one or other of 'em between whiles applauds him that made the Feaſt of War, by anſwering *Netho*, or *Joguenske*. When the Orator has done, he ſays to 'em all, 'Tis well; I'll march to morrow, or within two or three days, according as he hath projected. The next day thoſe who are willing to accompany him to the War, go to him, and aſſure him that they will follow him any where to revenge him upon his Enemies. 'Tis very well, Nephews, ſays he, we'll be going three days hence. And the Savages make twelve or fifteen Feaſts of this kind before they ſet out.

Theſe Barbarians had us'd to make very laſcivious Feaſts. The Leader of the Party ordered a young Woman to proſtitute her ſelf to ſuch or ſuch a one as he pointed at. If ſhe refus'd to gratify them, they attributed all their Miſcarriages in their Enterprizes to her; ſo cunning is the Devil in cheriſhing their impure Imaginations.

When they marry their Children, they ſeldom make a Feaſt. But if they do think fit to make any, they obſerve certain Ceremonies in it: the firſt thing they do, is to prepare Victuals. To this end they fill with Meat thoſe Kettles which they have truck'd for with the Europeans, or great Earthen Pots which the Women make. They provide as many of them as they deſign to have Gueſts: when the Meat, or *Sagamite* is dreſs'd, they go to invite their Gueſts, and this they do by putting a little ſtick into their hand, and ſaying, I invite thee to my Feaſt. No ſooner ſaid, but 'tis done, they need not be ask'd twice. They all come with their uſual Utenſils. The Maſter of the Cabin diſtributes to each an equal Meſs, and he that provides the Feaſt, or ſome other in his place, ſings without ceaſing till they have eaten all up: after the Banquet they ſing and dance, and at laſt without any Formality of

return-

returning Thanks to the Donor, they go back every one to their Cabin without ſpeaking a word. None but thoſe who have convers'd with the Europeans, return Thanks to thoſe that invited them.

The Feaſts made to recover the Sick are much after the ſame manner: But they do more good to the Gueſts than to the ſick weak Perſons. The Feaſts for the Dead are more doleful and ſad. No Body ſings or dances then. The Kindred of the Dead are in a deep mournful Silence. They look mightily troubl'd, to move their Gueſts to Compaſſion: all that go to theſe Feaſts, carry Preſents with 'em; and laying them at the feet of the near Kindred to the Deceas'd, ſay, here's ſomething to cover him, towards building a Cabin, or making a Paliſade round his Sepulchre, according to the nature of their Preſents: then they feed plentifully, and return home without ſpeaking a word.

As for the ordinary Feaſts, they order 'em ſeveral ways according to their Fancy: if they have any Knives bought of the Europeans, and have eaten and cut fat Meat with them, they ordinarily wipe their Knives with their Hair. They commonly eat ſitting upon the ground, and have nothing to wipe upon. So they are forc'd to wipe their greaſy Knives in their Hair, and then rub their Faces all over with it. Theſe frequent Unctions without doubt harden them, and make 'um capable of undergoing much Toil.

CHAP. XVI.

The manner of Adopting the Europeans *among the Savages.*

I Took notice in my former Volume that a Barbarian Captain of the *Iſſati*, or *Nadoueſſans*, named *Aquipaguetin*, adopted me in the place of his Son, who was kill'd

kill'd in Battle by the *Miamis*, and that this help'd me to gain Credit among these People, and insinuate my self into 'em, the better to dispose 'em to believe the Gospel. This is what the Missionaries should aim at, when they are among the Savages; they should endeavour to insinuate themselves into the Favour of him who is most famous of all the Leaders among 'em, and most inclin'd to the *Europeans*. Then this Captain brings them forth, for that's the term the Savages use to signify their Adoption; and this is done in a Feast. The Captain, I say, adopts a Missionary for his Son, or for his Brother, according to his Age and Quality; after which all the Nation look upon him as if he were actually born in their Country, and a-kin to their Captain: by means of this Ceremony he gets admission into the Family, in the quality of a Son, a Brother, Uncle, Nephew, or Cousin, with respect to those of the Family, and according to the rank they hold in it by their Birth.

And to carry on their Designs the better, the Missionaries cause a Council to be assembled, to set themselves off the more to the Barbarians. And here let it be observ'd, that all Assemblies, held by order of their Captains, are call'd *Councils*. Those that come to these Assemblies, sit upon the Ground in a Cabin, or in open Field; they keep silence whilst their Leader makes his Harangue, and religiously observe whatever they once firmly conclude upon.

The Missionaries deliver themselves, in these Assemblies, either by word of Mouth, if they understand the Language of the People, or else by Interpreters. They tell 'em that they come among them to make an Alliance and Friendship with them, and at the same time to invite them to traffick with their Nation; in conclusion, they desire the Savages to permit them to dwell in their Country, to instruct them in God's Law, which is the only way to Heaven.

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The Savages often accept the Offers of the Miſſionaries, and aſſure them they are well ſatisfied with their Perſons: but to win the Barbarians, 'tis requiſite that the Miſſionaries give them Hatchets, Knives, or other European Merchandizes, which the Savages, eſpecially thoſe who never yet had any Commerce with the Europeans, ſet a high value upon. We never treat of any Affair with them without preſenting them with ſomething of that nature, which they value more than we in *Europe* do Gold. After this the Barbarians *bring forth*, that is to ſay, adopt thoſe that have made Preſents to them. They publickly declare them Citizens, or Children of their Country; and according to their Age, as I ſaid before, the Savages call the adopted Perſons, Sons, Brothers, Couſins, according to the degrees of Relation: And they cheriſh them whom they have once adopted, as much as if they were their own natural Brothers or Children.

I forgot to take notice in my former Volume, that the great Captain of the *Iſſati*, named *Ouaſicoude*, or pierced Pine-tree, call'd me his Brother. There are no examples among the other Nations of adopting any one for a Brother to a Captain ſo abſolute as he. He had been ſeveral times at war with ſeventeen or eighteen Nations, Enemies to his, and brought away their Heads, or made them Priſoners.

Thoſe that are Valiant and Couragious are very much eſteem'd by the Savages. They ordinarily uſe no other Arms than Bows, Arrows, and Maces; but they uſe them very dexterouſly. They are clear-limb'd, active, and robuſt: I never ſaw any blind, crooked, or deform'd Perſon among them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Marriages of the Savages in North America.

MArriage is not a Civil Contract among theſe People; the Man and Woman don't intend to bind themſelves together for as long as they live, they live together no longer than they agree together, and love one another. As ſoon as they are diſcontented with each other, they ſay, as I before obſerved, My Wife is uneaſy to me, and I to her, ſhe'll agree well enough with ſuch a one who is weary of his Wife; there's no reaſon why we four ſhould live unquietly all our days: So without more ado, without any Clamor or Noiſe, they ſeparate, and remain perfectly indifferent for each other.

Theſe Barbarians ſometimes marry their Daughters at nine or ten Years old, not that the young Couple come together ſo ſoon, their Age is too green for that, but they expect to make ſome Advantage of their Sons-in-law; for when they return from hunting, the Girl's Father has the diſpoſal of the Skins, and the Fleſh they have taken: but at the ſame time the Girl is obliged to bring the *Sagamite*, or Milk thicken'd with Indian Corn, and the Meat provided for her Husband's eating, tho ſhe do not yet cohabit with him: ſometimes 'tis five or ſix Years before they conſummate.

When they marry, they make Feaſts with great pomp and rejoicing; all the Village is invited by turns: every one makes good Chear. After the Banquet they ſing and dance, as the Europeans upon that occaſion, but after their own way.

They

They often marry clandeſtinely, and there goes but one word to the Bargain. A Savage unmarried Man goes to a Maid, or unmarried Woman; without more Courtſhip, he tells her, if ſhe will go with him, ſhe ſhall be his Wife: She makes no Reply at firſt, but pauſes a little while, holding her Head betwixt both her Hands while ſhe is conſidering what to do; the Man holds his Head in the ſame poſture, and ſtands ſilent. After ſhe has thought a little of the matter, ſhe ſays *Netho*, or *Niaoua*, which ſignifies, I am content: The Man lifts up his Head preſently, and replies, *Oné*, that is to ſay, 'tis a Match. At Night the Woman or Maid takes an Iron Hatchet, or if her Nation have no Commerce with the Europeans, ſhe takes one made of Stone that will cut; ſhe goes and cuts as much good Wood as ſhe can carry, brings it to the door of the Savage's Cabin, and lays it down; ſhe goes in and ſits down by the Man, who does not offer to careſs her: when they have ſat together long enough without ſpeaking, the Husband tells her in the *Iroquoiſe* Tongue, *Sentaouy*, 'tis time to lie down, repoſe your ſelf: ſometime after he comes and lays himſelf down by her.

'Tis very rarely ſeen that any of 'em make Love after the European manner, courting, dallying, and jeſting fondly and merrily; they re-enter into a reciprocal Kindneſs with as much eaſe as they broke it off before: They part very quietly, for they make no more words on't than, *I quit thee*; that's all: they are perfectly indifferent to each other after when they meet, and take no more notice than if they had never ſeen one another. 'Tis true, they ſometimes fight before they part, but that happens very rarely.

Among the Northern Savages, and particularly the *Iroquois*, ſome have two Wives, but not for any long time: when they part, ſometimes the Woman carries away all the Clothes and Skins; but at other

times

times again she carries nothing away but the piece of Stuff that serves her for a little Petticoat, and her Blanket. Commonly the Children follow their Mothers, who continue to nurse and bring them up, because the Estate of every Tribe or Family lies in common: there are some that stay with their Fathers; but almost all the Savages that are divorced leave their Children to their Wives, saying, they don't believe they are theirs; wherein they frequently tell truth, for there are very few Women among them that withstand the temptation of a woollen Blanket, or any other trivial Present.

When their Children are begotten by an European, one may perceive it by their Face or Eyes; the Children of the Savages are perfectly black, and not pale or swarthy like the Europeans; they see farther into the Woods likewise, and with more quickness than ours: Their Eyes are more piercing than the Europeans.

If the Savage Women were capable of contracting Marriage, and keep stedfast in it, we might marry as many of them as we would to the Europeans; but they have no inclination to Constancy, they can't keep their Conjugal Vows inviolated, and are very ready to leave their Husbands: this we know by Experience, and their common discourse upon this Subject confirms us in it. When a Barbarian who has no Wife passes through a Village, he hires a Woman for a Night or two, whilst he tarries from home, or is hunting Bevers, or for some Weeks, according to his fancy; the Parents never hinder it: on the contrary, they make the first advances, and are over-joy'd that their Daughters gain some Clothes or Skins.

There are all sorts of Humours reigning among the Savages, as among the Europeans: some love their Wives very tenderly, others slight 'em; some beat and use them very hardly, but that does not last long,

long, becauſe they turn them off; nay, there are ſome of them that are jealous, as I ſaw one who beat his Wife becauſe ſhe danc'd with other Men. Thoſe that are good Hunters have the choice of the fineſt Women, the reſt have none but the homelieſt, and the Refuſe. When they grow old, they rarely part with their Wives; and if they do, 'tis for weighty Reaſons. Some of them live twelve or fifteen Years with their Wives, who are ready to go diſtracted if their Husband is a good Hunter, and leaves them: ſometimes they are ſo grieved at it, that they poiſon themſelves; I have known ſome attempt it, and have ſaved their Lives by giving them Treacle.

When theſe Barbarians go to hunt the Bever in the Spring-time, they frequently leave their Wives in the Village to ſow Indian Corn and Gourds, and then they hire another to go along with them: When they are about to return, they give them a Bever or two, and ſend 'em back to their Cabin; then they go home to their Wives as tho they had done nothing blameable: but if the laſt pleaſes them beſt, they take her, and turn away the firſt without more ado: and theſe Savages wonder the Europeans don't take the ſame courſe.

One day whilſt I liv'd at Fort *Frontenac* amongſt the *Iroquois*, the Husband of one of our Women of *Canada* was gone twenty or thirty Leagues from thence; the Women Savages came to her, and told her ſhe had no ſenſe, take another Man till your Huſband returns. This great Inconſtancy, and continual change of Women, are two things very oppoſite to the Maxims of the Goſpel, which we endeavour to inſtil into the Savages: 'Tis one of the moſt conſiderable Obſtacles to the Faith; but among the Southern Nations, and thoſe of *Meſchaſipi*, Polygamy is in faſhion. In all the Countries of the *Louiſiana* there are Savages to be met with that have often ten or twelve

twelve Wives; they frequently marry three Sisters, and give this reason for so doing, that they agree better together than with Strangers.

When a Man has given Presents to the Father and Mother of the Maid that he would espouse, she becomes his own for Life if he please. Sometimes the Parents take their Son-in-law's Children, and then they give 'em back the Presents they made 'em, but this happens very seldom. If any Woman defile her Marriage-bed, the Husband cuts off her Nose, or an Ear, or gives her a slash in the Face with a stone Knife; if he kill her, he is clear'd for a Present which he gives to her Parents to *wipe away their Tears*, 'tis the very Expression they use: I have seen several markt in the Face.

The Men of the hot Country are more jealous of their Wives than those of the North; the first are so jealous in this matter, that they wound themselves, and sometimes kill themselves in a blind passion of Love, which prompts them to this Fury.

One thing is very remarkable, and that is, young Warlike Savages seldom have to do with Women till thirty Years of Age, because, say they, their Commerce with Women exhausts their Strength, weakens their Knees, and renders them heavy in the Course; those that marry before that Age, are look'd upon as Men unfit for War or Hunting, and are despised as Effeminate Persons.

The Southern Men commonly go naked, but their Women are partly covered with a Skin finely dress't, especially in their Dances and Ceremonies: The Maids oil their Hair, curl it, and tie it in Locks: The Women wear their Hair like the Bohemians, they greaze it too, and paint their Faces with all sorts of Colours, and so do the Men.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Remedies which the Savages administer to the Sick; they have Mountebanks among them. Their opinion of Infant-Baptism when the Author liv'd there.

WHen the Savages are tired and weary, they go into a Stove to recruit the ſtrength of their Limbs; and if they have a pain in their Thighs or Legs, they take a Knife or a Stone that will cut, which they can get, and make a ſort of Scarification upon the Part that is grieved; while the Blood runs, they ſcrape it off with their Knives or Stones till it has done running, and then they rub the Wounds with Bear's Oil, or Deer's Greaſe; this is a ſoveraign Remedy, and they uſe the ſame when they have a Pain in the Head or Arms.

To cure Tertian or Quartan Agues, they compoſe a Medicine with a certain Bark which they boil, and give it to the ſick Perſon to ſwallow after his Fit. They have ſome knowledg in Herbs and Roots, with which they cure ſeveral Diſtempers: They have infallible Remedies againſt the Poiſon of Toads, Rattle-ſnakes, and other dangerous Animals; but none againſt the Small-Pox, as we have.

There are Mountebanks or Quacks among them, whom we have already ſpoke of under the name of Jugglers: Theſe are ſome old Savages who live at other Peoples Coſt, by counterfeiting themſelves Phyſicians, after a very ſuperſtitious manner. They make no uſe of Medicines but when they are call'd to a ſick Perſon; they make themſelves be ſued to, as tho they were to do ſome thing very extraordina-

ry and difficult: at last, after much intreaty, the Juggler comes, he approaches the sick Person, feels his Body all over; and after he has well handled and consider'd it, he tells 'em, there's a Charm or Spell in such a part, in the Head, Leg, or Stomach, or where he thinks fit; he adds, that he must remove this same Charm, and that it can't be done but with a great deal of difficulty, and 'tis necessary to do a great many things before he can succeed in it.

This Charm is very malign, says he, but it must be fetch'd out cost what it will: The sick Person's Friends, who blindly believe all the Quack tells 'em, make answer, *Tchagon*, *Tchagon*, Courage, Courage, Do what you can, spare nothing that you know will do him good: Then the Juggler sets himself down very gravely, and considers some time what Remedies to make use of; by and by he rises up, as out of a profound Sleep, and cries, It shall be done. You such a one, the Life of your Wife, or your Child is very dear to you, then spare nothing that may save it; you must make a Feast to day, you must give one thing or other, you must do this or that: at the same time they never fail to execute the Juggler's Orders. The other Savages go all together into a Stove, and sing as loud as they can baul, and make a ratling with Tortoise Shells, or Pumkins made hollow, and Indian Corn put into 'em; and to this Noise the Men and Women dance: nay, sometimes they get drunk with Brandy bought of the Europeans, and then they make a horrible din and clutter.

While they are all taken up in this manner, the old Juggler keeps close to the sick Person, whom he torments by holding his or her Feet and Legs, and gripes them hard in the part where the pretended Charm lies; he makes 'em suffer incredible Pain, enough to kill 'em, and often makes the Blood start out at the end of their Fingers or Toes; at length

after he has done all this, he ſhews a piece of Skin, a lock of Woman's Hair, or ſome ſuch thing, and tells 'em 'tis the Charm which he has drawn out of the ſick Perſon's Body, when at the bottom 'tis all a piece of Roguery.

Once I baptiz'd a little Child which ſeem'd to me to be at the point of Death, and next day it recovered contrary to my expectation; a while after the Mother told ſeveral Women in my preſence, that I had cur'd her Child: She took me for a Juggler, ſaying, I was an admirable Fellow, that I knew how to cure all ſorts of Diſeaſes with ſprinkling Water upon the Head and Face.

The Jugglers ſpited at the Woman's Character of me, began to tell 'em that I was of an auſteer melancholy Humour, that I fed upon Serpents and Poiſon, that ſuch Folks as I eat Thunderbolts. The Savages were aſtoniſh'd at the ſtrange Stories theſe Raſcals made upon me on the occaſion of baptizing the Child; nay, theſe Impoſtors added, that we had all Tails like Beaſts, that the European Women have but one Pap in the middle of the Breaſt, and bear five or ſix Children at a time, and a great deal more of ſuch ſtuff to make us odious; and this they did becauſe they thought that what I did would leſſen their Credit, and thereby they ſhould be depriv'd of many a good Treat.

Theſe poor honeſt People, who are eaſily put upon, began to ſuſpect me: when one of them fell ſick, they came and ask'd me whether I had poiſon'd him or no? and threaten'd to kill me if I did not cure him. I had much ado to undeceive them, and I was forc'd more than once to appeaſe them, by giving them Knives, Needles, Awls, and other ſuch like Trifles of little value with us, but much priz'd by the Savages. After which I gave a Doſe of Treacle to the ſick Man, and ſo I quieted them. The Savages often

have

have recourse to our Medicines, because they find them good; if they don't operate successfully, they lay the fault upon the Remedy, and never upon the ill Disposition of the sick Person.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Constitution or Temper of the Savages.

GEnerally speaking, the Savages are very robust; the Men, Women and Children are of an extraordinary vigorous Constitution, therefore they are very rarely troubled with Distempers. They don't know what it is to cocker and make much of themselves; thence it comes that they are not subject to any of those Indispositions that our Luxury brings upon us. They are not afflicted with Gout, Dropsy, or Gravel, nor are they feverish; they are hardly ever incommoded with those Diseases which the Europeans fall into for want of Exercise; they are seldom troubled with loss of Appetite; they are usually addicted to gormandizing, insomuch that they rise in the Night to eat; if by good luck they have Meat or *Sagamite* by them, they fall to it like Dogs without getting up.

And yet they can undergo such long Abstinences as would doubtless be intolerable to the Europeans; sometimes they fast two or three days together, when there's a necessity for it, and this without discontinuing their business, whether it be War, Hunting, or Fishing. The Children of the Savages that dwell towards the North, are so harden'd against Cold, that in the depth of Winter they run stark naked through the Snow, and tumble about in it, as Hogs wallow in the Dirt in Summer-time. When the Air

is fill'd with *Maringouins*, they don't feel their ſtinging.

'Tis true, the ſharp Air they expoſe themſelves to as ſoon as they can run about, contributes in ſome ſort to harden their Skin for any Fatigue; but yet it muſt be confeſt that this great Inſenſibility is owing to a ſtrong robuſt Temper of Body: for tho our Hands and Face are always expos'd to the Weather, yet they are never the leſs ſenſible of Cold. When the Men are a hunting, eſpecially in the Spring-time, they are almoſt continually in the Water, notwithſtanding it be very cold; and yet they come out of it freſh and gay, and return to their Cabins without complaining.

When they go to War, they ſometimes poſt themſelves behind a Tree three or four days together, eating a very inconſiderable quantity of Victuals all that while; and thus they lie hid in ambuſh, waiting to make a favourable Blow. They are indefatigable Hunters, they run very ſwift, and hold it a long time.

The Nations of *Louiſiana*, and of the River *Meſchaſipi*, run much faſter than the *Iroquois*; there are no wild Bulls or Cows which they can't overtake. The Savages of the South, tho inhabiting a warmer Country, and more pleaſant than the North, are no leſs robuſt, nor leſs accuſtomed to Fatigue than the Savages of the North, who ſleep upon the Snow wrapt in a little Blanket, without Fire or Cabin.

The Conſtitution of the Women is no leſs vigorous than that of the Men Savages, nay they are rather more robuſt; the Women ſerve for Porters, and are ſo ſtrong, that few Men in *Europe* can match them; they carry Packs that two or three can hardly lift up: I obſerv'd in my firſt Volume, that they uſually carry two or three hundred Weight, and ſet their Children a top of their Burden, who are not reckon'd

reckon'd into the Weight: 'tis true they walk ſlowly, but they never fail to meet at the rendezvous of the Nation. The warlike Savages undertake Voyages of three or four hundred Leagues, as if 'twere no more than a kind of Walk, as from *Amſterdam* to *Breda:* They don't carry their Proviſion along with them; they live by Hunting, which they follow daily; they take nothing but a Knife with them to make Bows and Arrows with; and in that Equipage they will go a thouſand Leagues, if they are minded.

The Women Savages are brought to bed without any great Pain; ſome of them go out of their Cabins, and retire aſide by themſelves into the next Wood; they come back agen preſently with the new born Infant wrapt up in their Blanket or dreſſed Skin: Others, if they fall in labour in the Night time, deliver themſelves of their Children upon their Mats, without crying out, or making a noiſe; the next morning they riſe, and go about their ordinary Buſineſs within doors or without, as tho nothing had happened. 'Tis further remarkable, that whilſt they are big with Child, they ſtir about, carry heavy Burdens, ſow Indian Corn, and Gourds; and what is more ſtrange than all this, their Children are very well ſhap'd, there are few of them crooked or deformed, they have no natural Faults in their Bodies; which makes me think, that their Mind might eaſily be faſhioned as comely as their outward Form, if it were cultivated, and if we converſed more with them to poliſh their wild barbarous Humour.

CHAP. XX.

A Description of the Savages that go clothed, and those that do not.

THE Savages of *North America* on the North side, according to the report of their antient Men, have always gone cover'd, even before they had any Commerce with the Europeans: The Men and Women cloth'd themselves with dress'd Skins; they are now cloth'd after the same manner, but those that have any Commerce with the Europeans have commonly a Shirt, a great Coat, such as the Mariners watch in at Sea, with a Cowl to it, and a Piece of Cloth made fast before and behind, with a Girdle which comes down to their Knees; besides they have Stockings without Feet, and Shoes made of dress'd Skins.

When they return from Hunting in Spring time, they truck their Skins for Coats, Shoes, and Stockings: some wear Hats out of complaisance to the Europeans: Some of them have Blankets in which they wrap themselves, holding two Corners of it in their Hands, when they are in their Cabins, they often go quite naked, having nothing but a Piece of Cloth, which they gird about them in Winter; 'tis fasten'd about their Loins, and hangs down between their Thighs as low as their Knees. When these Barbarians go to War, or to a Feast, they dawb their Faces all over with red or black, that their Enemies may not perceive they turn pale with Fear; they likewise colour their Hair red, and cut it in several fashions, especially the Northern Savages: Those of the South cut all their Hair off, or rather they singe it off with Stones made red hot in the Fire, till it be so short, that it does not cover their Ears:

Often

Often-times the People of the North let their Hair hang down in Curls on one side, and cut the other side close, according to their Fancy. There are some that rub their Hair with Oil, and afterwards clap some Down, or little Feathers upon their Heads: sometimes they fasten near their Ears great Plumes of Feathers; some make themselves Wreaths of Flowers, others make 'em of Birchen Bark, and some of dress'd Skins, that are work'd very prettily; then they look like some of *Cesar*'s Soldiers, who were painted of divers colours: They make themselves taken notice of for their Fantasticalness.

The Northern Women are clothed like the Men, except that they wear a piece of Stuff made like a Petticoat, which reaches down almost to their Knees: When they go to Feasts, they dress themselves in all their best Attire, bedawb their Temples, their Cheeks, and the Tip of their Chin with three sorts of Colours. The Boys go stark naked, till they are capable of Marriage; and even when they are clothed, those Parts, which Nature forbids Men to discover, are always left uncover'd, at least if they have no Shirts. The Girls begin to put on Clothes at five or six years old; and then they wear a piece of Stuff, that goes round 'em, reaching from their Loins down to their Knees. When we went into their Cabins to instruct them, we obliged them to cover themselves: this produced a good effect; now they begin to be asham'd of their Nakedness, and cover themselves a little better than they did formerly.

'Tis otherwise with the Women and Girls of the *Louisiana* and *Meschasipi*, which lie Southwest of *Canada* above a thousand Leagues from *Quebec*; there we see the Girls *in puris naturalibus*, just as they came out of their Mothers Belly, till they arrive at a fit Age to marry; mean time they are not at all asham'd, because us'd to it.

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The Men and Women, and especially the Girls, wear about their Necks Sea-shells of all Figures; they have likewise some Shells of about a Finger's length, made like little Pipes, which they wear at their Ears for Pendants; they have Girdles likewise, some made of Porcelain, others of Porcupines Hair, some of Bears Hair, and others of both mixt together.

The more considerable Savages carry at their Backs with much Gravity, a little Bag, wherein is their *Calumet* or Pipe, their Tobacco, their Steel to strike fire, and other Trifles. They have Skill enough to make a little Cloke or sort of Robe with dress'd Skins of Bears, Bevers, Otters, black Squirrels, Wolves, Lions, and other Animals: they put 'em on when they go to their Assemblies, where they sit as gravely when they are at Council, as the Senators of *Venice*. But the Savages of our last discovery betwixt the frozen Sea and new *Mexico*, appear always naked upon all occasions; from whence I took occasion to tell Father *Gabriel* one day, whilst we were among the *Illinois*, that probably these Savages did not sin in *Adam*; because he cover'd himself with Leaves, and then had a Habit of Skins given him after he had sinned: These Savages have really no manner of Shame to see themselves naked; nay they seem to glory in it. When they talk with one another, they often make use of those Terms, *Tchetanga*, which are obscene, and would make me write 'em down, when I was about composing a Dictionary, and they nam'd the Parts of the Body to me. Whatever I might say to Father *Gabriel de la Ribourd*, I am nevertheless perswaded by the Scripture, that all Mankind are descended from *Adam*; and therefore the Savages as well as others, are Sinners, and corrupted by their Birth, and that they will perish in their Sins if they don't receive the Gospel; for there is no other name by which Men can be saved, but the Name of Christ.

I know very well that Habits don't save any body; but in short, if these poor People would observe the Precepts of the Law of Nature, God would work a Miracle in their favour, rather than suffer 'em to perish in their Ignorance; and therefore he would lead 'em into the knowledg of the Truth, by means worthy of his Wisdom. But these unhappy Barbarians violate the Precepts of the Law of Nature, and live in Stupidity, and in the disorders of a dreadful Corruption, which makes them fit Subjects of God's Wrath. Mean time, Christians, who are guided by the saving Rays of Truth, ought to labour with all their power to bring these People out of Darkness, into the Light of the Gospel, and the Hopes of Salvation; so may they help to extend the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and draw these poor People out of Condemnation. To this end they should establish strong Colonies, who by trafficking and conversing with the Barbarians, will dispose them to imitate them; engaging them, by works of Charity, their Instructions, and good Examples, and even by the temporal Advantages to be drawn from the Conversation of the Europeans, to embrace Christianity, and grow more tractable and gentle than they are yet.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Games and Sports of the Savages.

THE Savages of *North America*, have Games for Men, and some for Children. The Men commonly play with the Stones of certain Fruits that are red on one side, and black on t'other; they put 'em into a pretty large Wooden-platter, not very deep, or into a Bason of Birchen-Bark, upon a Woollen-Blanket, on a dressed

ſed Skin, upon a Robe of Bever, or upon a large Coat; they play ſix or ſeven together, but there are but two of them that take hold of the Platter with their two Hands, one after another; they lift it up, and ſtrike the bottom of the Platter againſt the Ground, to huſtle theſe ſix Nuts together: If there come up five red or five black all of a ſide, that's one Game won; for they make three or four Games up, more or leſs, according as they agree upon it. All the Gameſters play one after another. Some of the Savages are ſo addicted to this Game, that they play away all they have to their great Coat, and their furr'd Gown. When they are at play, they bawl as loud as they can hout, as earneſtly as if the deciſion of an Empire were in agitation: and all this Noiſe is made as if the Chance were to be forc'd to fall on their ſide. When they ſhake the Platter, they lay themſelves over the Shoulders at ſuch a rate, that they make themſelves black and blue with the Blows. Theſe Barbarians play often with Straws or Broom-ſprigs, half a foot long, or thereabouts; one of them takes them all in his hand, and then without looking upon 'em, divides 'em into two parts, and gives one to his Adverſary: he that has the even, or the odd Number, according to their Agreement, wins the Game. The Children Savages likewiſe often play at this Game, but they don't follow it ſo eagerly as the Men, becauſe they have nothing to ſtake. The Women or Girls dare not meddle with this Game, I don't know for what reaſon.

The Savages have another Game which is common among the European Children. They take ſome Grains of Indian Corn, or ſome ſuch thing; then they put ſome into their Hand, and ask how many is there: he that gueſſes right, has the Game.

They have another Game that they are mightily pleas'd with, and which in the *Iroquoiſe* Tongue they call *Ounon hayenti*; but 'tis rather a ſort of Traffick

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and Barter than a Game: they go into two Cabins, six into one and six into t'other, then comes one with some Skins, Clothes, or what else they have a mind to truck; he goes to the Door of one Cabin, makes a certain Cry; and they within answer him: then he tells 'em, singing aloud, that he will sell or truck what he holds in his hands, repeating, *Ounon hayenti*: Those within the Cabin make answer with a hollow Voice, *Hon*, *Hon*, *Hon*, *Hon*, *Hon*, five times. The Crier or Seller having ended his Song, throws the Goods into the Cabin, and returns home.

Then the six in t'other Cabin, after they have conferr'd about the Price of the things that this Person threw into the Cabin, depute one of their Number to ask the Seller if he is willing to take in exchange, a great Coat, a Shirt, a pair of Shoes, or such like Commodity; and then a 2*d* Person carries the Equivalent to the other Cabin, or else they deliver back their Goods again that they threw in, if they can't agree about it, or if it is not worth as much as what they offer in exchange.

These Ceremonies are accompany'd with Songs on all sides: sometimes whole Villages of Savages visit one another alternately, more for the diversion of this Game of *Ounon hayenti*, than to see one another. This word signifies a Bargain, where one gives to receive again. The *Iroquoise* Tongue has compound words in it; one of their Terms imports sometimes five or six French words, as the word *Gannoron* is as much as to say, This is an Affair of great Consequence.

Their Children have another Game. They take a Bow and two Sticks, one big, one little: they hold the little one in their right hand, and strike it up as high as they can with the other; another looks where it falls, and throws it up again to him that struck it. This Play has likewise something in it like

like some among the European Children. They likewise make a Ball of Rushes or Leaves of Indian Corn; they toss it up, and catch it upon the point of a stick. The great People, Men and Women, pass away the Winter-Nights a telling Stories over the Fire, like the Europeans.

CHAP. XXII.

The manner of making War among the Savages; they are very much given to Revenge.

THE Savages of *America* have almost all of them a strong Propension to War, because they are very Revengeful: when once they have taken a disgust to any one that is not of their own Nation, they must be reveng'd sooner or later, tho they wait an Opportunity to the third or fourth Generation. They are restless day and night till they have taken Satisfaction for an Affront, by destroying, if they can, most of that Nation they are enrag'd at: And then they make the rest dwell amongst them, and take up their way of living in every thing. The *Iroquois*, whom the Sweeds, then the Dutch, the English, and French, have furnished with Fire-Arms, are reckon'd at present the most Warlike of all the Savages yet known: They have slain the best Warriours among the *Hurons*, and forc'd the rest of that Nation to join with them, to make War together against all their Enemies situated 5 or 600 Leagues distant from their five Cantons. They have destroy'd above two Millions of Men, and are now actually at War with the Inhabitants of *Canada*.

If *France* do not send Succours of Ammunition and Provision to the *Canadans*, the *Iroquois* may be able

to

to ruin them by the means I have mention'd in my former Volume.

These Barbarians can spoil their Neighbours, as we have seen by experience: we can gain nothing from them, because all we can plunder them of is worth little or nothing; this fierce Nation I say may easily ruin the Commerce of their Neighbours, who chiefly subsist by trafficking for Skins with the Savages. The European Colonies are not yet sufficiently established, and cannot subsist without Commerce, unless every thing necessary for Life be brought them by Ship; besides the *Iroquois* are mischievous and crafty, yet like wild Horses who don't know their own strength. They are certainly able to ruin their Neighbours, for some Reasons which 'tis not prudent to make publick. They had utterly ruin'd *Canada* long ago, if the Count *de Frontenac* had not won them by gentle Methods. They are the most formidable Enemies that the Europeans have in all *America*. I do but hint it here, but am assur'd of it, from what I know of those People; I dwelt four whole years among them; I have been sent in Ambassy to them, and they have carried themselves very friendly towards me.

This People have over-run many different Nations, and those who remain'd, after the defeat of the rest, have been always forc'd to submit to them. The *Iroquois* have considerable Men among them who are their Leaders, and Governours in their Voyages. They have those under their command that will follow them any where, and do all they are order'd: before they set out, they provide themselves with good Firelocks, which they get in exchange from the Europeans for Skins, and Furs; they take Powder, Ball, Kettles, Hatchets, and other necessary Implements in War along with 'em. Sometimes they have young Women and Lads, that go along with them,

them, and in this Equipage they march three or four hundred Leagues.

When they come near the place where they design to make War, they march slowly, and with much Precaution; then they never kill Deer with their Fire-arms, for fear of being discover'd. They only use their Arrows upon that occasion, which make no noise in flying. When they would shoot, they look carefully round them, for fear of a Surprize. They send out Spies, to discover the entrance into the Villages, and see where best to begin their Attack: and if they see any one come out of the Village, they surprize and take him if they can, which often succeeds, for they do all their business treacherously.

There are no Warriours like them in all *America* for Ambuscades: They lay wait for Men hid behind a Tree, as tho their Design was upon some Beast. They count him a good Warriour that is cunning at surprizing his Enemies. If they can escape handsomly, after they have given their blow, from their Enemies, they are reckon'd incomparable Fellows. 'Tis not to be conceived how quick they skip round a Tree with their Firelock in their hands, to defend themselves from the Arrows that are shot against them. They are very nimble at leaping over the Trees that are fallen down in the Woods as they run along: There are abundance of these Trees of a prodigious bigness, which fall with Age for want of Roots.

Their Patience is admirable. When they find they are cleverly hid, they'll tarry behind the Trees two or three days without eating, waiting a favourable opportunity to kill an Enemy: Sometimes they will shew themselves fairly, but that's very rare; and if they were not almost certain of their Blow, they would hardly expose themselves, at least if they were not back'd by a great number of their own Men. These Barbarians don't fight after the European

pean manner, becauſe they are not diſciplin'd to it, and can't keep their Ranks ſo well in open Field: So that they can't ſtand a Skirmiſh ſo well as our well-commanded Souldiers: Nevertheleſs when they are once heated and animated, they are incomparable.

They are ſo malicious, that they ſet fire to the Corn of their Europeans when they are dead: They burn their Houſes, which they ſet fire to with lighted Cotton, faſtned to the Point of their Arrows; for then the Fire takes hold of the Boards, or of the Straw that their Houſes are thatch'd with; for the Savages let fly their Arrows with extraordinary Force, ſo the Houſes are ſoon in flames.

There was an *Iroquois* Captain nam'd *Attréouati Onnontagé*, whom I know very well, that treated me very civilly in my Voyage from *Fort Frontenac* to *New York*; we call'd him *La grande Gueule*, becauſe his Mouth was very broad. This Man having miſs'd his aim once, ran into *Montreal* in *Canada*, crying, *Hai*, *Hai*, which is a token of Peace: He was very kindly receiv'd, and made much of; nay, they gave him conſiderable Preſents, becauſe they had a mind to have a good Underſtanding with that inſolent Nation. When he withdrew from that place, the perfidious Villain kill'd two Men that were thatching a Houſe.

Some of them told us, that they had been at War as far as the Spaniſh Territories in *New Mexico*; for they ſaid they had been in a Country where the Inhabitants gather'd red Earth, and carry'd it to ſell to a Nation who gave them Hatchets and Kettles for it; and this they ſaid was call'd *the Country of Gold*: but 'tis likely this Story was deviſed by the Savages to pleaſe Mr. *de la Salle* when he was at *Fort Frontenac*, for he greedily heard any one talk of the Golden Mines of St. *Barbe*. I have been among all the Nations of the River *Meſchaſipi*, none of whom except the *Illinois* ever mention'd the *Iroquois* otherwiſe than

as certain People, Neighbours of the *Illinois*, from whom they learnt that the *Iroquois* are a very cruel People, tho not ſtout, but only becauſe they have Fire-arms, which they bought of the Europeans: That without them they never durſt attack the *Illinois*, who are valianter, and more dexterous at Bows and Arrows than the *Iroquois*.

Thoſe *Iroquois* that don't go out to fight, are contemn'd, and paſs for Cowards and effeminate Men. Becauſe they have Firelocks, they invade all other Nations between both Seas, that is, from North to South: and no Nation in *America* can ſtand before the *Iroquois* on account of their Firelocks. This renders them haughty and inſufferable. They call themſelves *Men* by way of Excellence, as tho other Nations were no more than Brutes in compariſon with them. I underſtand very well how to bring the *Iroquois* to a better paſs: but a Man of my Character ought not to talk of theſe Matters but with a great deal of Caution, becauſe the Remedies which I would propoſe, might perhaps be worſe than the Miſchief that might be apprehended from that Nation; nevertheleſs I may diſcover my Sentiments in due time to thoſe high Perſons that put me upon writing this Work.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Cruelty of the Savages in general, and particularly of the Iroquois.

THere are no Savages in all the Northern *America* but what are very cruel to their Enemies. We are aſtoniſh'd at the Cruelties which the *Neroes*, the *Dioclesians*, and the *Maximins* inflicted upon the Chriſtians, and have their Names in Deteſtation and



The Cruelty of The Savage Iroquois

Gawfridus Histrio de Conlitio.

Horror; but the Inhumanity of the *Iroquois* towards the Nations they make Slaves goes beyond theirs.

When the *Iroquois* have kill'd a Man, they tear off the Skin of his Scull, and carry it home with them as a certain Mark of their Victory. When they take a Slave, they tie him, and make him run after them; if he is unable to follow them, they ſtick their Hatchet into his Head, and there leave him, after they have torn off Skin and Hair together. They don't ſpare ſucking Infants: If the Slave can march after them, they tie him every Night to a piece of Wood made in the form of a St. *Andrew*'s Croſs, and leave him expos'd to be ſtung by the *Maringoins*, and other Flies, in Summer-time, and uſe him as cruelly as may be.

Sometimes they fix four Pegs into the Ground, to which they faſten their Slaves by the Feet and Hands, and ſo leave them all Night long upon the Ground in the ſharpeſt Weather. I omit a hundred other Sufferings which theſe miſerable Wretches undergo in the day-time. When they are near their Villages, they ſet up loud Cries, whereby their Nation knows that their Warriours are return'd with Slaves. Then the Men and Women put on their beſt Apparel, and go to the entrance of the Village to receive them; there they make a lane for the Slaves to paſs through them. But 'tis a lamentable Reception for theſe poor People: The Rabble fall upon them like Dogs or Wolves upon their Prey, and begin to torment them, whilſt the Warriours march on in File, mightily puff'd up with their own Exploits.

Some kick the Slaves, ſome cudgel them, ſome cut them with Knives, ſome tear off their Ears, cut off their Noſes or Lips, inſomuch that moſt of them die in this pompous Entry. Thoſe that reſiſt againſt theſe rude Treatments, are reſerv'd for exemplary Puniſhment. Sometimes they ſave ſome, but very

rarely. When the Warriours are entred into their Cabins, the Antients assemble themselves to hear the relation of what pass'd in the War.

If the Father of a Savage Woman has been kill'd, they give her a Slave for him, and 'tis free for that Woman either to put him to Death, or save him alive. When they burn them, this is their manner; They bind the Slave to a Post by the Hands and Feet, then they heat red-hot Musquet-barrels, Hatchets, and other Iron Instruments, and apply them red-hot from head to foot, all over their Body; they tear off their Nails, and pluck out their Teeth; they cut Collops of Flesh out of their Backs, and often flea their Skin off from their Scull: After all this they throw hot Ashes upon their Wounds, cut out their Tongues, and treat them as cruelly as they can devise. If they don't die under all these Torments, they make them run and follow them, laying them on with Sticks. 'Tis reported, that once a Slave ran so well, that he sav'd himself in the Woods, and could not be catch'd again. 'Tis probable he died there for want of Succour. But what is more surprizing is, that the Slaves sing in the midst of their Torments, which frets their Executioners exceedingly.

An *Iroquois* told us, that there was one Slave whom they tormented cruelly; but he told them, You have no Ingenuity, you don't know how to torment your Prisoners, you are mere Blockheads; if I had you in my Circumstances, I'd use you after another manner: but whilst he ran on so boldly, a Savage Woman gets a little Iron Spit heated red-hot, and runs it into his Yard: this made him roar; but he told the Woman, You are cunning, you understand something, this is the Course you should take with us.

When the Slave which they burn is dead, they eat him; and before his Death they make their Children

drink

drink ſome of his Blood, to render them cruel and inhumane. Thoſe that they give their Lives to, live with them, and ſerve them like Slaves: But in length of time they recover their Liberty, and are look'd upon as if they were of their own Nation.

The Savages of the *Louiſiana* that dwell along the River *Meſchaſipi*, and are ſituated ſeven or eight hundred Leagues beyond the *Iroquois*, as the *Iſſati* and *Nadoueſſans*, amongſt whom I was a Slave, are not leſs brave than the *Iroquois*; they make all the Nations round them tremble, tho they have nothing but Bows, Arrows, and Maces. They run ſwifter than the *Iroquois*, and make excellent Souldiers; but they are not ſo cruel: they don't eat the Fleſh of their Enemies; they are content to burn them only. Once having taken a *Huron*, who eat humane Fleſh as the *Iroquois*, they cut off pieces of Fleſh from his own Body, and ſaid to him, You that love Man's Fleſh, eat of your own, to let your Nation know, who now live among the *Iroquois*, that we deteſt and abominate your Barbarities; for theſe People are like hungry Dogs that devour any ſort of Meat.

The *Iroquois* are the only Savages of *North America* that eat humane Fleſh; and yet they don't do it but in caſes extraordinary, when they are reſolved to exterminate a whole Nation. They don't eat humane Fleſh to ſatisfy their Appetites; 'tis to ſignify to the *Iroquoiſe* Nation, that they ought to fight without ever ſubmitting to their Enemies; that they ought rather to eat them than leave any of them alive: They eat it to animate their Warriours; for they always march out of their five Cantons the day after, to fight with their Enemies; for the Rendezvous for next day is always given notice of by theſe Feaſts of humane Fleſh.

If the Europeans would leave furniſhing the *Iroquois* with Fire-arms, who are not ſo dextrous at the Bow

as formerly they were, the other Nations on the contrary having always been us'd to it, they would infallibly root out the *Iroquois*, their common Enemies, who dwell four and five hundred Leagues off from them.

The first Canton of the *Iroquois* lies Southward; they call it *Gagnieguez*, or *Agniez*; they are Neighbours to *New York*, and have three Villages which I have been in; they make up at most four hundred fighting Men. The Second lies Westward, and is call'd *Onneiouts*, and make up about a hundred and fifty fighting Men. The Third, which lies Westward likewise, contains the *Onnontaguez* or Mountaineers, a People situated upon the only Eminence in the five Cantons; they border upon the *Onneiouts*. These *Onnontaguez* have three hundred fighting Men, the bravest of the whole Nation. The Fourth lies about thirty Leagues further Westward, where live the *Oionguens*, divided into three Villages, who make up three hundred fighting Men. The Fifth contains the *Tsonnontouans*, towards the further end of the Lake *Frontenac* or *Ontario*: These People are the greatest and most considerable of all the *Iroquois* Cantons. They comprehend in three Villages three hundred fighting Men.

I took notice in my first Volume of three or four *Iroquois* Villages on the North-side of the Lake *Ontario* or *Frontenac*; but I don't describe these five Cantons of the *Iroquois* here, I only treat of their Barbarity and Cruelty; and add, that they have subdued a very large Country since within these fifty Years; that they have extended their Territories, and multiplied their Nation by the Destruction of other People, the Remainder of whom they have made Slaves, to encrease the number of their Troops.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Policy of the Savage Iroquois.

THE Councils held continually by these Barbarians for ordering all Affairs, ought to be consider'd as the main Cause of their Preservation, and the fear all the Nations of *North America* are put in by them. They assemble for every little Business that is to be done, and consult what Methods they should take to gain their ends. They undertake nothing hand over head. Their old Men, who are wise and prudent, watch over the Publick. If one complains that some Person has robb'd him, they carefully inform themselves who it is that committed the Theft. If they can't find him out, or if he is not able to make restitution, provided they be satisfied of the truth of the Fact, they repair the Loss, by giving some Present to the injur'd Party, to his Content.

When they would put any body to death for an enormous Crime, which they are perswaded he is guilty of, they hire a Man, whom they make drunk with Brandy, (for these People are very greedy of it) that the Kinsfolks of the Criminal may not seek to revenge his Death. After this drunken Man has kill'd him whom they judg culpable, they give this account of it, that he that slew him was mad and drunk when he struck the blow. Formerly they had another way of doing Justice, but 'tis abrogated; They had a Feast once a Year, which we may call, *The Feast of Fools*, for they play'd the fool in good earnest, running about from Cabin to Cabin: If during that day they fell foul upon any one, or took away any thing, the cunning old Men next day ex-

cus'd all, by alledging that he that had done the Miſchief was a Fool, and out of his Wits. Afterwards they made ſome Preſents to wipe off the Tears of the Kindred of the Perſon who was maliciouſly kill'd. His Relations take up with that Excuſe, without proceeding to take Vengeance. Then theſe Antients hir'd ſecretly ſome Perſon, who acted the Fool, and kill'd the Perſon pitch'd upon, whom they had a mind to get rid of.

The *Iroquois* have Spies and hir'd Men amongſt them, who come and go perpetually, and tell them all the News they learn. They are crafty enough in Traffick, and are not eaſily cheated: They deliberate maturely upon every thing, and endeavour to underſtand the Merchandize before they truck for it.

The *Onnontagez*, or *Iroquois* Highlanders, are more ſubtle and crafty than the reſt: They ſteal very cleverly. The *Algonkains*, the *Abenaki*, the *Eſquimoves*, and abundance more Savages that have convers'd with the Europeans, are as ſharp and politick as they. We are not to imagine that theſe People are Brutes, and irrational; no, they underſtand their own Intereſt thorowly, and order their Affairs very diſcreetly.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the manner of the Savages hunting of all ſorts of wild Beaſts; and of the admirable Induſtry of the Caſtors *or* Bevers.

THE Savages obſerve the Time, the Seaſons, and the Moons of the Year very punctually, for the better ordering their Hunting. They call their Moons

Moons from the Name of thoſe Beaſts which at certain Seaſons appear the moſt. They call it the Moon of Frogs, when the Frogs make their greateſt Croaking; the Moon of Bulls, when thoſe wild Beaſts appear; the Moon of Swallows, when thoſe Birds come, and when they go. Theſe Barbarians reckon thus, becauſe they have no other Names to diſtinguiſh their Months by, as the Europeans have. They uſe the ſame Method for the Names of Men, calling them, Serpent, Wolf, wild Cat, *&c.*

They hunt the Elk and the Goat in all ſeaſons, but more particularly when there is Snow. They hunt the wild Cat and the Marmoſet in Winter, the Porcupine, the Caſtor, and the Otter, in the Spring, and ſometimes in Autumn. They take the Elk in a Gin by the Neck, and the Caſtor in Traps. They kill the Bears with Arrows or Shot, upon the Oaks, when they eat the Acorns. As to the wild Cats, they fell the Tree they are upon, and then the wild Dogs fall upon them and kill them. The Porcupines are taken almoſt in the ſame manner, with this only difference, that they kill them with a Hatchet or Fork when the Tree is faln; for the Dogs cannot come near them, becauſe of their Quills, which are ſharper than Awls, and by little and little pierce a Man's Body in an imperceptible manner; and theſe Beaſts would infallibly be the death of thoſe Dogs that ſhould attack them: Theſe Beaſts do not run ſwift, a Man may eaſily overtake them in running. They take the Otters in Traps, where they kill them with Arrows or Shot; they ſeldom kill them with Hatchets, becauſe they are quick of hearing.

They take the Caſtors in Winter under the Ice: they firſt ſeek out for the Ponds where theſe Beaſts frequent: The Caſtors ſhew an admirable Skill and Induſtry in the building of their little Cabins. When they change their abode, they ſeek out ſome Brook

Brook in the Woods, and run upwards along the ſide of it till they come to ſome flat Country fit to make a Pond in; then after they have well viewed the place on every ſide, they begin to make a Dam to ſtop the Water: They make it as ſtrong as the Dam of any Pond in *Europe*, of Wood, Earth, and Mud; and ſometimes ſo big, that it will hold the Water of a Pond a quarter of a League long. They make their Cabins about the middle of the Level of the Water, with Wood, Ruſhes and Mud; and they plaiſter it all ſmoothly together with their Tails, which are longer, and full as broad as a Maſon's Trowel. Their Buildings are three or four Stories high, filled almoſt full with Mats of Ruſhes; and in this place the Females bring forth their young ones.

At the bottom of the Water there are Paſſages higher and lower. When the Ponds are frozen over, they can only go under the Ice: And for this reaſon at the beginning of Winter they make a proviſion of Aſpen Wood, which is their ordinary Food: They keep it in the Water round about their Cabins. The Savages pierce the Ice about the Cabin with the handle of a Hatchet, or a Stake; and when they have made a hole, they ſound the bottom of the Water to find out the *Caſtor*'s Track: When they have found it out, they put in a Net a fathom long, and two Sticks, of which the two ends below touch the ground, and the two ends above come out at the hole which is made in the Ice. They have two Cords fixed to the Sticks to draw the Net when the *Caſtor* is taken.

But to the end this ſubtle Animal may not ſee the Net, nor the Men, they ſtrow upon the Surface of the Ice rotten Wood, Cotton, and ſuch like things. One Savage ſtays to watch near the Net with a Hatchet, to draw the *Caſtor* upon the Ice when he is taken, while the reſt break down the Cabins with a great deal of labour: They often find more than a

foot

foot of Wood and Earth, which they are forced to hew with a Hatchet, for it's frozen as hard as a Stone. When that is done, they ſound the Pond, and wheresoever they find a hole, they break the Ice for fear the *Caſtors* ſhould hide themſelves under it; ſo driving them from place to place, at laſt they force them into the Net. They labour extream hard in this manner from Morning till Night without eating any thing, and for all that do not take above three or four *Caſtors*.

The Savages take alſo in the Spring theſe Beaſts with Traps in the following manner. When the Ice begins to thaw, they obſerve the *Caſtor*'s Paſſage, and ſet a Trap there; they bait that with a branch of the Aſpin Tree, which reaches from the Trap into the Water. When the *Caſtor* finds, he eats it even in the Trap, and then falls upon two great Logs of Wood which kill him. They take the *Martens* almoſt in the ſame manner, with this difference only, that they put no Bait for them.

All the Southern Nations towards the River *Meſchaſipi* are more ſuperſtitious in their hunting than the Northern People, and particularly the *Iroques*. Whilſt I was among them, their old Men, ſix days before the hunting of the wild Bulls, ſent four or five of their moſt expert Hunters upon the Mountains to dance the *Calumet* with as many Ceremonies, as amongſt the Nations to which they are wont to ſend Embaſſies, to make ſome Alliance. At the return of theſe Men, they openly expoſed for three days together one of the great Caldrons they had taken from us: They had wreathed it round about with Feathers of divers Colours, and laid a Gun acroſs over it. For three days together the chief Wife of a Captain carried this Caldron upon her Back, with Flowers in great Pomp, at the head of above two hundred Hunters: They all followed an old Man who had faſtned

one

one of our Indian Handkerchiefs to the end of a Pole like a Banner, holding his Bow and Arrows; he marched with great Gravity and Silence.

This old Man made the Hunters halt three or four times, to lament bitterly the Death of those Bulls they hop'd to kill. At the last Stage where they rested, the most antient of the Company sent two of their nimblest Hunters to discover wild Bulls. They whispered softly to them at their return, before they began the hunting of these Beasts. Afterwards they made a Fire of Bulls Dung dry'd in the Sun, and with this Fire they lighted their Pipes or *Calumets*, to smoak the two Hunters which had been sent to make the Discovery. Presently after this Ceremony was over, a hundred Men went on one side behind the Mountain, and a hundred on the other, to encompass the Bulls, which were in great numbers: They killed a great many in Confusion with their Arrows, and we Europeans seven or eight with Shot. These Barbarians did wonderfully admire the effect of our Guns: They heard the Report, but did not see the Bullets, and they thought it was the Noise that kill'd them; they laid their Hands on their Mouths, to show how much they were astonish'd, and cry'd out, *Mansa Ouacanche*, which signifies in the Language of the *Issati*, this Iron does harm to Men and Beasts: We do not know how it comes to pass, but we cannot sufficiently admire how the Noise of this round Instrument breaks the Bones of the largest Beast.

It was no small matter of Admiration to see these Savages flea the Bull, and get it in pieces; they had neither Knives nor Hatchets, but some few they had stole from us, and yet they did it dexterously with the Point of their Arrows, which was made of a sharp Stone: Afterwards they took Stones, and broke the Bones, and with them they separated one piece from

from another. After they had thus dismembred the Beast, their Wives dry'd them in the Sun, and the Smoak of small Fire, upon wooden Gridirons. While the Hunting lasts, they only eat the Intrals, and the worst pieces of those Beasts, and carry the best part home to their Villages, which are above two hundred Leagues from the place of hunting.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of their manner of Fishing.

THE Savages that dwell in the North fish in a different manner from those of the South: The first catch all sorts of Fish with Nets, Hooks, and Harping-irons, as they do in *Europe*. I have seen them fish in a very pleasant manner: They take a Fork of Wood with two Grains or Points, and fit a Gin to it, almost the same way that in *France* they catch Partridges: After they put it in the Water, and when the Fish, which are in greater plenty by far than with us, go to pass through, and find they are entred into the Gin, they snap together this sort of Nippers or Pinchers, and catch the Fish by the Gills.

The *Iroques* in the fishing season sometimes make use of a Net of forty or fifty fathom long, which they put in a great *Canow*; after they cast it in an oval Form in convenient places in the Rivers. I have often admired their dexterity in this Affair. They take sometimes four hundred white Fish, besides many Sturgeons, which they draw to the Bank of the River with Nets made of Nettles. To fish in this manner, there must be two Men at each end of the Net, to draw it dexterously to the shoar. They take like-

likewiſe a prodigious quantity of Fiſh in the River of *Niagara*, which are extreamly well taſted.

The Fiſhery is ſo great in this place, that it's capable to furniſh with Fiſh of ſeveral ſorts the greateſt City in *Europe*. It's not to be wonder'd at. The Fiſh continually ſwim up the River from the Sea towards the Spring, to find convenient places to ſpawn in. The River of St. *Laurence* receives in this part of *Niagara* an infinite quantity of Water from the four great Lakes of which we have ſpoke, and which may properly be called little freſh-water Seas. This great deluge of Water tumbling furiouſly over the greateſt and moſt dreadful Leap in the World, an infinite number of Fiſh take great delight to ſpawn here, and as it were ſtagnate here, becauſe they cannot get over this huge Cataract: So that the quantity taken here is incredible.

Whilſt I was in the Miſſion of the Fort *Frontenac*, I went to ſee this Leap, which comes from a River in the North, and falls into a great *Baſſin* of the Lake *Ontario*, big enough to hold a hundred Men of War. Being there, I taught the Savages to catch Fiſh with their Hands: I cauſed Trees to be cut down in the Spring, and to be rolled down to the Bank of the River, that I might lie upon them without wetting me; and after I thruſt my Arm into the Water up to the Elbow, where I found a prodigious quantity of Fiſh of different Species; I laid hold on them by the Gills, gently ſtroking them; and when I had at ſeveral times taken fifty or ſixty large Fiſh, I went to warm and refreſh me, that I might return freſher to the Sport: I caſt them into a Sack which a Savage held in his hand. With theſe I fed above fifty *Iroqueſe* Families of *Ganneouſſe*, and by the aſſiſtance of *Monſieur de la Salle*, taught them to plant the Indian Corn, and to inſtruct their Children in the Chriſtian Religion at the Fort *Frontenac*.

The

The moſt conſiderable Fiſhery of the Savages is that of Eels, which are very large, of Salmons, and Salmon-trouts, and white Fiſh. The Fiſhery of the *Iroques Agnies* which are near *New York*, is of Frogs, which they take, and put them whole into their Caldrons without skinning them, to ſeaſon their *Sagamite*, which is a ſort of Pottage made of Indian Corn. The Salmon-trouts are taken in many other places of the Rivers which fall into the Lake of *Frontenac*: There are there ſuch quantities of them, that they kill them with Sticks.

They take the Eels in the Night when it's calm: Theſe come down all along the River of St. *Laurence*, and are taken in this manner. The Savages put a large Bark of the Birch-Tree, with ſome Earth upon the end of a Stake, after which they light a ſort of a Flambleau which gives a clear Light; after that one or two go into a *Canow*, with a Harping-Iron placed between the two Grains of a little Fork: when they ſee the Eels by the light of the Fire, they ſtrike an infinite quantity of them, becauſe the great white Porpoſes which purſue them make them fly towards the Banks of the River where the Porpoſe cannot follow, becauſe of the ſhallowneſs of the Water. They take Salmons with Harping-Irons, and the white Fiſh with Nets.

The Southern People which dwell upon the River *Meſchaſipi* are ſo crafty, and have ſuch quick and piercing Eyes, that tho the Fiſh ſwim very faſt, they will not fail to ſtrike them with Darts a great depth in the Water, which they ſhoot with a Bow. Beſides, they have long Poles ſharp at one end, which they dart moſt dexterouſly: In this manner they kill great Sturgeons, and Trouts, which are ſeven or eight fathom in the Water.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Utenſils of the Savages in their Cabins; and of the extraordinary manner they ſtrike Fire.

BEfore the Europeans arrived in the *North America*, the Savages of the North and the South made uſe (as they do even to this day) of Pots of Earth; eſpecially thoſe that have no Commerce with the Europeans, and can procure no Caldrons or other Utenſils: Inſtead of Hatchets and Knives, they make uſe of ſharp Stones, which they tie with Thongs of Leather in the end of a cleft Stick. Inſtead of Awls, they make uſe of a certain ſharp Bone, which is above the Heel of the Elk: They have no Fire-Arms, but only make uſe of Bows and Arrows.

For to make Fire in a new manner, new, and quite unknown to us, they take a Triangle of Cedar Wood, of a foot and half, in which they make ſome Holes of a ſmall depth: After they take a Switch or little Stick of hard Wood; they twirl it between both their Hands in the Hole, and by the quick Motion, produce a kind of Duſt or Meal, which is converted into Fire; after they pour out this white Pouder upon a Bunch of dried Herbs, and rubbing altogether, and blowing upon this Pouder, which is upon the Herbs, the Fire blazes in a moment.

When they would make Platters, or wooden Spoons, or Porringers, they drill their Wood with their ſtone Hatchets, and hollow it with Fire, and do after ſcrape it, and poliſh it with a Bever's Tooth.

The

The Northern Nations, who have commonly very ſharp Winters, make uſe of Rackets to go over the Snow; they make them of the Thongs of Skins cut out as broad as little Ribbons, neater than our Tennis Rackets: Theſe Rackets have no Handles, as thoſe of the Tennis Court, but they are longer and broader; they leave in the middle a Slit the breadth of their Toes, that they may be at more liberty to walk with their ſavage Shoes: They will perform a greater Journey in a Day than without them. Without theſe Rackets they would ſink into the Snow, which is commonly ſix or ſeven foot deep, and ſometimes more in Winter; in ſome places it's higher than the higheſt Houſes in *Europe*, being driven into Mountains by the Wind.

Thoſe Savages which are near the Europeans, have at preſent Guns, Hatchets, Caldrons, Awls, Knives, Tongs, and ſuch like Utenſils.

To plant their Indian Corn, they make uſe of Pickax's of Wood, for want of thoſe of Iron: They have large Gourds in which they put the Fat of Bears, wild Cats, *&c.* There is none, but has his leather Bag for his Pipe and Tobacco. The Women make Bags of the Rind of *Linden* Tree, or of Ruſhes, to put their Corn in: They make Thred of Nettles, and of the Bark of the *Line* Tree, and of certain Roots, whoſe Names I know not. To ſew their ſavage Shoes they make uſe of very ſmall Thongs: They make likewiſe Mats of Bulruſhes to lie upon; and when they have none, they make uſe of the Barks of Trees. They ſwathe their Children as the European Women do, with this only difference, that they make uſe of ſwathing Bands of large Skins, and a ſort of Cotton, that they may not be too hot: After they have ſwathed them, they tie them upon a Board, or Plank with a Skin Girdle; after they hang this Plank upon the Branch of a Tree, or in ſome place

of their Cabin, ſo that their little ones never lie in Bed; they hang perpendicularly: And to the end their Urine may not hurt them, they place conveniently a piece of Birch-tree Bark; ſo that it runs away as it were in a Gutter, and touches not the Child's Body.

Theſe Women have ſo great a care of their Children, that they avoid all carnal Commerce with their Husbands, till the Child be three or four Years old: The European Women do not ſo, becauſe 'tis eaſy to ſupply the defect of the Mother's Milk, with the Milk of Cows, and other domeſtick Animals; but they have none of this ſort of Cattel: They avoid therefore the Commerce of their Husbands while they are Nurſes; for if they ſhould prove with child, their Infants would undoubtedly periſh, they having nothing ſutable for a Child of ſeven or eight Months old.

The Savages which have Commerce with the Europeans, begin to make uſe of Iron Crooks and Pothooks, which they hang upon a Stick, which reſts upon two-forked Sticks fixed in the Ground: but thoſe that have no Commerce, make uſe of the Branches of Trees to hang their earthen Pots upon to boil their Victuals.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the Manner of their Interring their Dead: Of the Feſtival of the Dead, with ſome Reflections on the Immortality of the Soul.

THE Savages bury their Dead with the greateſt Magnificence they can deviſe, eſpecially their Relations, and particularly their Captains or Heads of their Clans or Tribes: They put on their beſt Attire, and paint their Face and Body with all ſorts of Colours. They put them in a ſort of Coffin made of the Bark of Trees, and they poliſh the outſide neatly with light Pumice Stones; and they make a Place where they bury them in the manner of a *Mauſoleum*, which they encompaſs round about with Stakes or Paliſadoes twelve or thirteen foot high.

Theſe Mauſoleums are commonly erected in the moſt eminent Place of their Savage Borough. They ſend every Year ſolemn Embaſſies to their neighbouring Nations, to ſolemnize the Feaſt of the Dead. All the People of the Northern *America* ſpare nothing to honour their dead Friends and Relations, whom they go to lament: They make Preſents eſteemed among them very conſiderable, as Girdles dyed with Sea-Purple, and Pipes made with the moſt precious Stones that can be found; and in a word with what they look upon to be the moſt eſtimable to the Parents of the Defunct. They conduct them to the Mauſoleum, muttering a ſort of Prayers, accompanied with Tears and Sighs, before the Bones, whoſe Memory they honour for their great Exploits in Peace and War.

These Savages have particular Ceremonies for the Children of their deceas'd Friends: When they design to bury these little ones, as soon as they are dead they wrap their Bodies in a white pinked Skin in the presence of their Parents; it's painted with many Colours: After they carry it and place it upon a kind of Sledg, and so carry it to be buried: but instead of making Presents to the Parents of the deceased Infants, as they do for those of riper Years, they themselves receive them to wipe away their Tears, which they shed in abundance, in the presence of the Parents.

The Savages have likewise a Custom of putting in the Coffin of the deceased of riper Years, whatever they esteem valuable, tho to the value of two or three hundred Crowns: They put there Shoes of pinked Skins, garnished with red and black Porcupine, a Pair of Tongs, a Hatchet, Necklaces of Purple, a Pipe, a Caldron, and a potful of *Sagamite*, or Pottage of Indian Corn, with some fat Meat. If he be a Man, they bury him with a Gun, Powder, and Ball; but those that have no Fire-Arms, content themselves with putting in their Coffin their Bows and Arrows, that when they are in the *Country of Souls* (as they phrase it) and of the Dead, they may make use of them in Hunting.

When I was among the *Issati Nadoueſſans*, there died one of the Savages, that had been bit with a Rattle-Snake; I came not time enough to give him my infallible Remedy, *viz.* Orvietan in Ponder. If this Accident happened to any one in my presence, I made them presently be scarified upon the place that was bit, and cast some of the Pouder upon it; afterward I made them swallow some of it, to keep the Poison from the Heart. These Barbarians strangely admired me, that I cured one of their Chiefiains, that had been bit by one of these Ser-

pents: They ſaid to me, *Spirit*, for ſo they call all *Europeans*, we ſought after you, and the other two *Spirits* your Companions; but we were ſo unfortunate, that we could not find you; leave us no more, we'll take care of you for the future: if you had been with us, our Chieftain, whom you ſee dead, would have been in a condition to have been merry with you: He was excellently well verſed in the trade of ſurprizing and killing his Enemies; he with hunting maintained his ten Wives: He would have been in a condition to have been your Benefactor, if you had been here to ſave his Life: You could have done it eaſily, ſince you have cured ſo many of our Relations; you would have done him this important piece of Service, and ſpared our Tears.

Theſe poor People ſeeing our Method, but not comprehending it, believe we are capable of doing any thing even of arreſting Death: They often admired the effects of the Remedies, which I gave to their Sick, with a deſign to cure their Spiritual Maladies, in bringing them to the Knowledg of the true God, by the Care I took of their Bodies.

I admired how neatly theſe Savages had laid out the dead Corps; they had laid him upon fine Mats, and put him in the poſture of a Warriour, with his Bow and Arrows: They painted his Body with divers Colours; one would have thought at firſt he had been alive. They ſaid I muſt give him ſome Tobacco of *Martineco*, of which I had a ſmall quantity, that the Defunct might have ſomething to ſmoak: This gave me an occaſion to tell them, that the dead did neither ſmoak nor eat in the Country of *Souls*, and that they have no more need of Bows and Arrows; for in the Country whither thoſe Souls go, they go no more a hunting: That if they would learn to know the great Captain, they would be ſo much ſatisfied with ſeeing him, that they would think no

more of Hunting, neither of eating or drinking; for the Souls do not need it.

They made but a groſs Conception of what I ſaid to them: afterwards I made them a Preſent of two Fathom of our black Tobacco; they love it paſſionately: Theirs is not ſo well cured, nor ſo ſtrong as that of *Martineco*, of which I made them a Preſent. I made them underſtand, that I gave it them to ſmoak, and not to the deceaſed, becauſe he had no need of it. Some of thoſe Savages preſent gave me an attentive Ear, and were pleaſed with my Diſcourſe of another Life; others ſaid in their Language, *Tepatoui*, which is as much as to ſay *very well*: Afterwards they ſat them down, and fell a ſmoaking, taking no further notice of my Diſcourſe.

I obſerved that the Tears which they ſhed, and the Ceremonies they practiſed, as rubbing the Defunct with Bears Fat, and ſuch like things, were rather the Effects of Cuſtom, derived to them by Tradition, which ſeems to retain ſomething of Judaiſm, than of any ſtrong *Attache* they have for them. I do not abſolutely deſpair of the future Salvation of theſe Barbarians. I believe God will raiſe up ſome proper means to enlighten them with the Light of the Goſpel; for his Holy Goſpel is to be preached to all the World before the Day of Judgment.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of the Superſtitions of the Savages, and of the ridiculous things they believe.

I Always obſerved that the ſtrongeſt Arguments that can be brought for the Converſion of Infidels are of no value till God give a Bleſſing. How ſhall they believe in him whom they have not heard ſpeak? ſays St. *Paul*. How ſhall they underſtand, if ſome do not preach to them? And how ſhall they preach if they be not ſent? The ſound of the Apoſtles is gone through the World, and their Words are heard even to the ends of the World. I ardently beg that the ſound of the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles may bring to the Paſtures of Life that infinite number of Savages which I have ſeen in my Travels. Great pains have been taken a long time, but as yet no conſiderable progreſs is made, for the generality of them are ſtrongly fixed in their Superſtitions.

Theſe Barbarians are one more ſuperſtitious than another, the Old Men eſpecially; and the Women moſt obſtinately retain the Traditions of their Anceſtors. When I told them it was a Foolery to believe ſo many Dreams and Fancies; they ask'd me how old I was? You are not above thirty five or forty years old, and do you pretend to know more than our Antient Men? Go, go, you know not what you ſay; you may know what paſſes in your own Country, becauſe your Anceſtors have told you, but you cannot tell what has paſſed in ours, before the *Spirits*, that's to ſay the Europeans, came hither.

I reply'd to theſe Barbarians, that we knew all by the Scripture, which the great Maſter of Life has given

us by his Son; that this Son died to deliver Men from a place where burns an eternal Fire, which would have been their lot, if he had not come into the World to ſave us from Sin and from Death; that all Mankind were Sinners in *Adam*, the firſt Man of the World. Theſe Savages, who have a large ſhare of common Senſe, often ask'd me, Did you *Spirits* know of our being here before you came hither? I anſwered them, No: You do not learn therefore all things by Scripture; it tells you not all things, reply'd they.

It requires a great deal of time to ſhew them the Falſity of their Superſtitions, and much more to perſwade them to imbrace the Verities of the Goſpel: There's none but God can do it by the Unction of his Grace and Holy Spirit. But for all this the Evangelical Reapers muſt not deſert the Harveſt. A time will come that Men will prefer the Intereſts of Jeſus Chriſt, before their own: then there will be but one Shepherd, and one Sheepfold.

There are many of the Savages that make the Stories of their Antients the ſubject of their Raillery, but others believe them. I have formerly given an account of the Sentiments they have of their Origine, and of the Cure of their Maladies. They have ſome Sentiments of the Immortality of the Soul. They ſay there is a delicious Country towards the Weſt, where there's good Hunting, and where they kill as many Beaſts as they pleaſe. It's thither they ſay their Souls go. They hope to ſee one another there. But they are yet more ridiculous, in believing that the Souls of Caldrons, Guns and other Arms, which they place near the Sepulchre of the Dead, go with them to be made uſe of in the Country of Souls.

A young Savage Maid dying after Baptiſm, the Mother ſeeing one of her Slaves at the point of Death, ſaid, my Daughter is all alone in the Country of the Dead, among the Europeans, without Relations,

and

and without Friends: The Spring is at hand; it's time to ſow Indian Corn, and Citruls, or Pompions; baptize my Slave, ſays ſhe, that ſhe may go and ſerve my Daughter in the Country of the Europeans.

A Savage Woman being at the laſt Gaſp, cried out that ſhe would not be baptized, for the Savages that die Chriſtians are burned in the Country of Souls by the Europeans. Some of them told me one day, that we baptized them to make them our Slaves in the other World. Others asked me, if there was good Hunting in the Country, whither their dying newly baptized Infants were going? When I anſwer'd them, that they lived there without eating and drinking, becauſe they are there ſatiated with the Contemplation of the great Maſter of Life: We will not go thither, ſay they, becauſe we muſt eat. If we reply that they will have no need of Food, they clap their Hands upon their Mouths in ſign of Admiration, and ſay, you are a great Liar; Can one live without eating?

A Savage told us one day this Story: One of our old Men, ſays he, being dead, and being come to the Country of Souls, he found there firſt Europeans that careſſed him, and made much of him; after he came to the place where his Country-men were, who likewiſe received him very kindly: There were Feaſts there every day, to which the Europeans were often invited; for there are there neither Quarrels nor War: After this old Man had taken a full view of the Country, he returned home, and recounted all his Adventures to thoſe of his Nation. We asked the Savage if he believed this Story? He anſwered, No, that their Anceſtors related it, but they might tell a Lie.

Theſe People admit ſome ſort of Genius in every thing; they all believe one Maſter of Life, but they make divers applications of it. Some have a lean Crow,

Crow, which they carry always about with them, and which they call their Master of Life. Others have an Owl, others a Bone, some the Shell of a Fish, and such like things. When they hear the Owl hout, they tremble, and take it for an ill Omen. They are great believers of Dreams. They go unto their Baths to procure good weather for Hunting. They never give the Bones of Bevers or Otters to their Dogs. I asked them the reason; they answered me, that there was an *Otkon*, or Spirit, in the Wood, which would tell the Bevers and Otters, and after that they would catch none. I asked them what that Spirit was; they answered me that it was a Woman that knew every thing, who was the Lady of Hunting. But the greatest part of them do not believe these Fables.

Whilst I was in the Mission of *Frontenac*, a Savage Woman was poisoned in the Wood by accident: The Hunters brought her into her Cabin; I went to see her after she was dead. I heard them discoursing near the Body of the Dead; they said they had seen upon the Snow the winding Tracts of a Serpent which came out of her Mouth. They related this very seriously. While they were discoursing thus, an old superstitious Beldam said, she had seen the Spirit that had killed her.

I have seen a Boy of about eighteen years old, who believed himself to be a Girl; and this Fancy wrought so strongly upon him, that he acted all things accordingly: He habited himself like a Girl, and employed himself in their sort of work. A Savage which we had decoyed into the Fort, and who was the Chief of his Village, told me one day that *Onontio*, which is the Name they give to the Governour-General of *Canada*, who at that time was the Count of *Frontenac*, would come such a day, when the Sun was in such a place: which precisely came to pass as he had said.

ſaid. This ſame old Man, who was called *Ganneouſe Kaera*, that is to ſay, the *bearded*, was the only Man of all the Savages which I ſaw with a Beard. The People of the Northern *America* commonly pluck away the Beard when it is but Down, and for this reaſon they have no Beards. I muſt confeſs I knew not what to ſay when I ſaw the Count *de Frontenac* arrive. This Man had heard no News from any body. When I asked him how he came to know it; he ſaid he had learned it of a Jugler who pretended to foretel things. But I believe their Predictions are rather the effect of Hazard, than of any Commerce they have with the Devil.

CHAP. XXX.

Of the Obſtacles that are found in the Converſion of the Savages.

THere are many Obſtacles that hinder the Converſion of the Savages; but in general the difficulty proceeds from the indifferency they have to every thing. When one ſpeaks to them of the Creation of the World, and of the Myſteries of the Chriſtian Religion; they ſay we have Reaſon: and they applaud in general all that we ſay on the grand Affair of our Salvation. They would think themſelves guilty of a great Incivility, if they ſhould ſhew the leaſt ſuſpicion of Incredulity, in reſpect of what is propoſed. But after having approved all the Diſcourſes upon theſe Matters; they pretend likewiſe on their ſide, that we ought to pay all poſſible Deference to the Relations and Reaſonings that they make on their part. And when we make anſwer, That what they tell us is falſe; they reply, that they have acquieſced

quieſced to all that we ſaid, and that it's want of Judgment to interrupt a Man that ſpeaks, and to tell him that he advances a falſe Propoſition. All that you have taught touching thoſe of your Country, is as you ſay: But it's not the ſame as to us, who are of another Nation, and inhabit the Lands which are on this ſide the great Lake.

The ſecond Obſtacle which hinders their Converſion, proceeds from their great Superſtition, as we have inſinuated before.

The third Obſtacle conſiſts in this, that they are not fixt to a place. While I was at Fort *Frontenac*, Father *Luke Buiſſet*, and my ſelf, were employed a great part of the Year to teach many Children our ordinary Prayers, and to read in the *Iroquois* Language; their Parents aſſiſted at the Service in the Chappel: they lift up their Hands to Heaven, and kneeled, beating their Breaſts, and behaved themſelves with great reſpect in our Preſence. They ſeemed to be moved with our Ceremonies; but they did ſo to pleaſe us, and their only aim ſeemed to be to get ſome Preſents from the Europeans.

But in caſe they had had ſome laudable Deſign, they would quickly have renounced it, becauſe they ſtay no longer in their Villages than till Harveſt be over, which is but a ſmall time: All the reſt of the Year they paſs in Wars and Hunting. Then they carry their Families with them, and are abſent eight or nine Months: Their Children then, which have begun to learn ſomething, forget all, and fall to their former Superſtitions and methods of living. Beſides, their Juglers, and their old Superſtitious Men, minding nothing but their Intereſt, endeavour to create in them a hatred towards us, leſt they ſhould believe what we teach them.

The Merchants who deal commonly with the Savages, with a deſign to gain by their Traffick, are like-

likewiſe another Obſtacle: St. *Auguſtine* long ſince ſaid of them, *Continua eſt in illis meditatio doli, & tritura mendacii*; They think of nothing but cheating and lying, to become rich in a ſhort time. They uſe all manner of Stratagems to get the Furs of the Savages cheap. They make uſe of Lies and Cheats to gain double if they can. This without doubt cauſes an averſion againſt a Religion which they ſee accompanied by the Profeſſors of it with ſo many Artifices and Cheats.

It muſt likewiſe be confeſſed, that there are ſome Miſſionaries which in part hinder the progreſs It's hard to learn their Languages, they being ſo different one from another, that they are nothing like. There is then required a great deal of time to be able to teach them the Myſteries of our Religion; and unleſs the Holy Ghoſt inſpire extraordinarily, little Fruit is to be expected from theſe barbarous People.

Beſides, the different methods that are uſed to inſtruct them, retard much their Converſion. One begins by the Animal part, and another by the Spiritual. There are diverſity of Beliefs among the Chriſtians; every one abounds in his own Senſe, and believes his own Faith the pureſt, and his Method the beſt. There ought therefore to be an uniformity in Belief and Method, as there is but one Truth, and one Redeemer, otherwiſe theſe Barbarians will not know what to reſolve.

I put a great deal of difference between the zeal and indefatigable pains of the Miſſioners, and the pretended Succeſſes which are vaunted of in the World. They who are abſolutely diſingaged from the love of Riches, and who have been in the Miſſion among the People of the Southern *America*, have without doubt made a great progreſs in thoſe Countries. There are forty or fifty Provinces of our Order, where the publick Service is performed. They are in poſ-

ſeſſion

ſeſſion to preach with Authority, after having deſtroyed Idolatry.

But we muſt confeſs, that thoſe who have laboured in the Northern *America*, have not had the ſame progreſs. They have made it their application to civilize thoſe barbarous People, and make them capable of ſomething of *Policy*. They have endeavoured to put a ſtop to the Current of their Brutal Sallies, and ſo prepare the way of our Lord: notwithſtanding we muſt confeſs they have made little Progreſs. Theſe barbarous Nations, by I know not what fatality of Intereſt, are almoſt as Savage, and have as great an *Attache* to their antient Maxims, to Gluttony, Pride, Curſing and Cruelty, and a thouſand other abominable Vices as ever.

They are the ſame they were forty years ago, and above: And yet many Books are publiſhed of the great Converſions of the *Iroquois* and *Hurons*. We were told for certain, that theſe Barbarians had built as many Churches and Chappels as they had deſtroyed, and yet they are ſtill Enemies of all the good Maxims of Chriſtianity.

I do not deny here but that the Miſſionaries have faithfully diſcharged their Miniſtry: But the Seed has fallen upon an ungrateful Soil, either on the High-way, or among the Thorns; ſo that they'l remain inexcuſable at the day of Judgment, having reſiſted ſo clear Convictions.

Be it as it will, every day a great many Children are baptized, and ſome grown Men on their Death-beds if they deſire it, which is a great ſtep to Eternity: But as to thoſe in Health, few are converted, and fewer perſevere. But the Pains, and the entire Sacrifice of the Life of a Miſſionary, would be well employ'd, and glorioufly recompens d, if they had had the Happineſs to convert and ſave one only Soul.

The

The principal and most assured part of a Missioner consists in the Administration of the Sacraments to those who go to barter among the Savages. And we may to our shame truly say, that as soon as the Furs and the Bevers begin to grow scarce among the Savages, the Europeans retire, and not one is to be found. The Savages reproached us with it once in the Presence of Monsieur the Count *de Frontenac*, in full Council, at the three Rivers of *Canada*, saying, While we have Bevers and Furs, he that prayed was with us; he instructed our Children, and taught them their Prayers and Catechism; he was inseparable from us, and honoured us sometimes at our Feasts: but when our Merchandize failed, these Missioners thought they could do no further Service among us.

It's likewise true, that the greatest part of those Missions which were established above forty Years ago have failed: Witness those of the great Bay of St. *Lawrence*, of *Ristigouch*, of *Nipisiguit*, of *Miskou*, Cape *Breton*, *Port-royal*, of the River *Wolf*, of the Cape of St. *Mary Magdalen*, of the three Rivers, and many more which were established among the *Hurons* at the head of this River. Those that were Missionaries in those Parts, thought good to quit them, and even *Tadoussae* it self, to establish themselves at *Chigoutimi*.

If God give me Health and Life, in a third Tome I'll give an account of other Obstacles more considerable, which hinder the propagation of the Gospel: I'll only say in this place, that those that would employ themselves to the purpose in those Parts in this painful Ministry, must tread under foot the Riches of the World, and content themselves with a mean Subsistence, according to the Doctrine of the Apostles.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the barbarous and uncivil Manners of the Savages.

THE Savages have ſmall regard to the Civilities of *Europe:* They make a Mockery of the Civilities we uſe one to another: When they come to a place, they ſeldom ſalute thoſe that are there: They ſit upon their Breech, and have no regard even to thoſe that come to viſit them. They enter into the firſt Cabin they meet with, without ſpeaking a word: They take a Seat where they can, and after light their Pipe or *Calumet:* They ſmoak without ſaying any thing, and even ſo go away again.

When they enter into a Houſe built and furniſhed after the European Mode, they take the chief place: If there be a Chair before the middle of the Fire, they ſeize upon it, and never riſe up for any body, tho he were a Prince or a King. They look upon themſelves as the beſt Men of the World.

In the Northern Parts the Men and Women hide nothing but their Nakedneſs; all elſe is expoſed to view. The Savages of the South are quite naked, having not the leaſt ſentiment of Shame: They do the Neceſſities of Nature before all the World, without the leaſt ſcruple, and without regard to any Man. They treat their Elders with great Incivility when they are out of Council. The common Diſcourſe both of Men and Women is down-right Bawdy.

But as to the Commerce which Men have with their Wives, for the moſt part it's in private: But ſometimes it's done with ſo little Precaution, that they are often ſurprized. Beſides, the Savages obſerve

ſerve none of the Rules of that natural Honeſty which is uſed among the Europeans of both Sexes. They never practiſe any Careſſes or Endearments, which are common among the People of *Europe*; all is done groſly, and with a great deal of Brutality.

They never waſh their Platters made of Wood or Bark, nor their Spoons. When the Savage Women have cleaned their little Infants with their hands, they wipe them very ſuperficially upon a piece of Bark, after which they will handle the Meat that they eat. This often turned my Stomach, that I could not eat with them when I was invited to their Cabins. They ſeldom or never waſh their Hands or Face.

The Children ſhew but ſmall Reſpect to their Parents: Sometimes they will beat them without being chaſtiſed for it; for they think Correction would intimidate them, and make them bad Souldiers. They eat ſometimes ſnuffling and blowing like Beaſts. As ſoon as they enter into a Cabin, they fall a ſmoaking. If they find a Pot covered, they make no difficulty to take off the Lid to ſee what's in it. They eat in the Platter where their Dogs have eaten, without wiping it. When they eat fat Meat, they rub their Hands upon their Face and Hair to clean them: They are perpetually belching.

Thoſe that have trucked Shirts with the Europeans, never waſh them; they commonly let them rot on their backs: They ſeldom cut their Nails: They ſeldom waſh the Meat they dreſs. Their Cabins in the North are commonly filthy. I was ſurprized one day to ſee an old Woman bite the Hair of a Child, and eat the Lice. The Women are not aſhamed to make water before all the World: but they had rather go a League in the Woods than any body ſhould ſee them go to ſtool. When the Children have piſſed their Coverlets, they caſt away their

piſs with their hands. One may often ſee them eat lying along like Dogs. In a word, they act every thing brutally.

For all that, there are many things found among them honeſt and civil. When any one enters into their Cabins when they are eating, they commonly preſent him with a plate-full of Meat, and they are extreamly pleaſed when all is eaten that they give. They had rather faſt two days without Victuals, than let you go without heartily preſenting you with part of all they have. If by chance the Portions be diſtributed when one comes in, the Wife who makes the Diſtribution orders the matter ſo, that ſhe gives ſhare to the New-comer.

Some Savages preſented us the fineſt Mats, and the beſt place in the Cabin, when we paid them a Viſit. Thoſe who frequent the Company of Europeans, ſalute us when they meet us. It's likewiſe the Cuſtom of theſe People to return Preſent for Preſent.

Altho they ſhew ſmall Reſpect to their old Men, yet they have a great Deference for their Counſels. They follow them exactly, and confeſs that they have more Experience, and know Affairs better than themſelves. If an antient Man ſhould ſay to a young Man, by way of Reproach, before others, *Thou haſt no Wit*, he would preſently go and poiſon himſelf, they are ſo ſenſible of Ignominy and Diſgrace. In the Aſſemblies which are held for debating their Affairs, the young People dare not ſay a word unleſs they be asked.

In their Feaſts they often give to the moſt conſiderable of the reſt the whole Head of the Beaſt which they have killed, or the beſt portion of what is dreſſed: They never eat on the ſame Plate, unleſs it be in War, for then they obſerve no meaſures. They have a great Deference for the old Men, in that they leave them the whole Government

ment of Affairs, which is esteemed honourable among them.

There are few that salute after the mode of *Europe*. I knew a Savage who was called *Garagontie*, which is as much as to say, the Sun that moves; he one day made an Harangue before Monsieur the Count of *Frontenac*; and every time he began a new Discourse, he took off his Cap, and made a Speech like an Orator. Another Captain of the *Hojogoins* seeing his little Daughter which he had given to the Count *de Frontenac* to be instructed, said very civilly to him, *Onnontio*, (for so they call the Governour of *Canada*, which word signifies a beautiful Mountain) thou art the Master of this Girl; order the business so that she may learn to write and read well; and when she grows great, either send her home, or take her for a Wife. Which shows you, that the *Iroquois* look upon themselves as much as the greatest Persons in the World.

I knew another *Iroques* who was called *Atreovati*, which signifies *great Throat*: this Man eat as the Europeans do; he washed his Hands in a Bason with the Governour; he sat last down at the Table, and opened his Napkin handsomly, and eat with his Fork; and did all things after our mode: But often he did it out of Craft or Imitation, to get some Present from the Governour. The Count *de Frontenac* was very complaisant with these Savages; because he knew that the *Iroquois* were the Enemies most to be dreaded by the French, of all the People in the North *America*.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of the great Indifferency of the Humours of the Savages.

GEnerally ſpeaking, all the Savages of the Nations I have ſeen in the Northern *America*, have an extream Indifference for all things: They have no particular *Attache* to any thing, and ſet no great value upon the moſt precious thing they have: They look upon every thing as very much below them; and if they had a thouſand Crowns, or any thing of equal value, they would part with it without trouble, and give it all to have what they deſire. But of all the Northern Nations there is none ſo indifferent as the *Iroquois:* they look upon themſelves as Maſters of other People, and have often dared to declare War againſt the French in *Canada*, and would have conquered it if they had known their Forces.

Notwithſtanding, their Indifference for all things either of Peace or War, often induced them to make a counterfeit Peace with thoſe of *Canada*. Beſides, they are perſwaded, that unleſs one ſend great Reinforcements thither, they can abſolutely deſtroy them when they pleaſe, and ruin the Commerce. Let the Efforts be never ſo great againſt them, they can never extirpate them; and it will never pay the Charges which will be neceſſary to do it: There is nothing but blows to be got; and it will be a difficult thing to defend ones ſelf from their Treacheries: One can get but ſmall Booties among them.

Their Indifference is ſuch, that there is nothing like it under the copes of Heaven: They have a great Complaiſance for all that is ſaid to them, and in appearance

pearance do all seriously you entreat them to do. When we say to them, Pray to God with us, they presently do it, and answer word for word, according to the Prayers they have been taught in their Tongue. Kneel down, they kneel; take off your Bonnet, they take it off; hold your tongue, they do it. If one say to them, Hear me, they hearken diligently. If one give them some Image, Crucifix, or Beads, they use them as Jewels to adorn themselves with. When I said to them, To morrow is *Sunday*, or Prayer-day, they answered me, *Niaora*, that's well, I am content. I said to them sometimes, Promise the great Master of Life never to be drunk any more; they answered, *Netho*, I promise you I'll commit no more such Folly: but as soon as they got *Aqua-vitæ*, or other strong Liquors, which they trucked with the French, English, and Hollanders, for their Furs, they began afresh to be drunk.

When I asked them if they believed in the Great Master of Life, of Heaven and Earth; they answered, Yes. Notwithstanding, the Savage Women which some Missioners had baptized, and who were married in the face of the Church with some French Men of *Canada*, often left their Husbands, and took others, saying, they were not subject to the Laws of the Christians, and that they did not marry but with a design to stay with their Husbands as long as they agreed together: but if they did not agree well, they were at liberty to change.

It's necessary to civilize this Nation before they be made to embrace the Christian Faith. If they be not under the Yoak, it's in vain to labour their Conversion, unless God by a particular Grace should do some Miracle in favour of this People. This is all I can say upon this Subject, founded upon the Experience I as well as many other *Recolets* have had of them.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of the Beauty and Fertility of the Country of the Savages: That powerful Colonies may easily be planted on the North and the South.

BEfore I enter into the Particulars of these charming Countries which are in the North and the South of the Northern *America*, I'll speak two words of the Countries of the North, to the end one may see that it's easy to establish there powerful Colonies.

We must confess that there are vast Forests to be rid up, which reach from *Canada* to the Country of *Louisiana*, all along the River of *Meschasipi*; so that it would require a great deal of time to clear the Ground. But this is incident to all new Establishments.

Considerable Advantages were formerly made, and are so still, from the Fishery, of which they dried one part, because they sold them in the hot Countries; in which Traffick were imployed in the past Age a thousand or twelve hundred Vessels. The great Bank of *Newfoundland*, the adjacent Banks, the neighbouring Isles, Cape *Breton*, the broken Island, and *Acadia*, have the most Fish in the World. I do not speak here of the Fishery of the North, which *France* pretends a Right to, under the Title of the first Possessors. These Fisheries would be inexhaustible Mines for the Kingdom, which could not be taken from it, if they were supported by good Colonies. A great many Vessels might go every Year to fish for the Porpoise, the Whale, and the Sea-wolf, which would furnish us with an infinite quantity of Oil for

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our Domeſtick Manufactures, of which a part might be tranſported into Foreign Countries.

It's granted that the Traffick of Fiſhing which is upon theſe Coaſts of *Canada*, gave birth to the firſt Eſtabliſhments which were made in thoſe Parts of *America*. There has not been time enough, nor Means to ſearch the Country for Mines; without doubt there are Mines of Tin, Lead, Copper and Iron in many places, which are left for the Diſcovery of future Ages. The Country, by reaſon of the vaſt Foreſts, will furniſh all ſorts of Wood neceſſary to compleat the Mines. In many places is found a ſort of baſtard Marble, and great Bands of Coal fit for the Forges; there is alſo a ſort of Plaiſter which much reſembles Alabaſter.

The further one advances into the Country, the more beautiful Foreſts are found, full of gummy Trees, fit to make Pitch for Ships, as alſo infinite ſtore of Trees fit for Maſts, of Pines, Firs, Cedars, Maples, fit for all ſorts of Work, eſpecially for the building of Ships: Great Men of War might be built there, Mariners might always find imploy enough, and get ſufficient to maintain their Families; they would become abler Sea-men by this Navigation and Commerce of the Weſt, than of the *Levant*, and their Experience would be greater.

At the firſt beginning of the Eſtabliſhment of the Colony in *Canada*, the Community gain'd every Year a hundred thouſand Crowns, beſides the Gains of private Perſons. In the Year 1687. this Sum was tripled and above, by the Furs which were ſent to *France*: And tho the Merchants are forc'd to advance further into the Country than at firſt, it's notwithſtanding an inexhauſtible Commerce, as we have obſerved, by the great Diſcoveries we have made.

It muſt be granted, that there are no Nations in *Europe* that have ſuch an Inclination for Colonies as

the *Engliſh* and the *Hollanders*: The Genius of thoſe People will not permit them to be idle at home. So the vaſt Countries of *America* which I have deſcribed, may be made the Soul of their Commerce. Private Perſons who ſhall undertake it, without intereſſing their own Country, may bring it to a happy iſſue: They may eaſily contract Alliances with the Savages, and civilize them. The Colonies which they ſhall eſtabliſh there will quickly be well peopled, and they may fortify themſelves there at a very ſmall Expence: They may content themſelves at firſt with a moderate Gain, but in a ſhort time it will be extreamly conſiderable.

There are in *England* and *Holland* a great many ſorts of Merchandizes and Manufactures of all ſorts, which cannot be conſumed upon the place, but in time here might be had a prodigious utterance of them. And from hence one may better learn to underſtand, than hitherto we have done, the admirable Providence of God, whoſe Will and Pleaſure it was that every Country in the World ſhould not be equally furniſhed with all things, to the end Society and Commerce between different Nations might be eſtabliſhed, and the glad Tidings of the Goſpel be divulged to the ends of the World.

It is ſomething great and glorious to gain Battles, and ſubdue rebellious Subjects; but it's infinitely more glorious to gain Souls to Chriſt: And I muſt needs ſay, that the principal aim I propoſe in publiſhing this great Diſcovery, is to animate Chriſtians to extend the Dominions of our Saviour, and to aggrandize his Empire.

It's certain, to return to our Diſcourſe of Trade and Commerce, that the Trade of Furs in the North is of infinite Profit and Advantage. There are to be had Skins of Elks or *Orignaux*, as they are called in *Canada*, of Bears, Bevers, of the white Wolf or Lynx,

Lynx, of black Foxes, which are wonderfully beautiful, which were sometimes valued at five or six hundred Franks; of common Foxes, Otters, Martens, wild Cats, wild Goats, Harts, Porcupines; of Turkies, which are of an extraordinary bigness, Bustards, and an infinity of other Animals, whose Names I know not.

There may be catch'd, as I said before, Sturgeons, Salmons, Piques, Carps, large Breams, Eels, Sword-fish, Gilt-heads, Barbels of an extraordinary bigness, and other sorts of Fish without number. There is infinite Gain for the Fowlers: There is an infinity of Sea-Larks, which are a lump of Fat: There are Partridges, Ducks of all sorts, Huars, a kind of Dottrel, which imitates Mens Voices, which have an admirable diversity of beautiful Colours, Turtles, Ring-doves, Cranes, Herons, Swans, Bustards, which have a relish of all sorts of Meat when you eat them, and a great abundance of all such like Game.

The great River of St. *Laurence*, which I have often mentioned, runs through the middle of the Country of the *Iroques*, and makes a great Lake there which they call *Ontario*, *viz.* the beautiful Lake; it's near 100 Leagues long, and a vast number of Towns might be built upon it. These places having Correspondence with *New York*, judicious Persons will easily see of what vast Profit the Trade will be; and here it's to be observed, that the middle of this River is nearer *New York* than *Quebec*, the Capital City of *Canada*.

The River of St. *Laurence* on the South has a Branch which comes from a Nation which is called *Nez*, or the *Outtaouaels*; on the North are the *Algonquins*, where the *French* have taken possession: Towards the East dwells the Nation of *Wolves* near *New Holland* or *York*: On the South of the same River is situated *New England* or *Boston*, where are many

ny trading Ships: On the South-west is *Virginia*, which together with *New Holland* was formerly called *New Sweedland*: On the East is the Country of the *Hurons*, so called, because they burn their Hair, and leave but a little Tuft upon their Head, which stares like a wild Boar's Bristles. This Nation has been almost destroy'd by the *Iroques*, who have incorporated the Remainder among themselves. I have added many other Countries towards the North of the River of St. *Laurence* in the general and particular Map, which I have published in the first Volume of our Discovery.

The great Bay called *Hudson*'s, is on the North of this River; it was discovered by the *Sieur Desgroseliers Rochechouart*, with whom I was often in a Canoo during my stay in *Canada*. The *English* have given him a Pension; and Mr. *Blathwait*, first Secretary of War to *William* the Third King of *England*, told me the last Year, that *Sieur Desgroseliers* was then living in *England*.

This *Hudson*'s-Bay is situated on the North of *New France*, and of the River of St. *Laurence*; it has above four hundred Leagues Extent, and by Land it is not far from *Quebec*, as it may be observed in my Charts: Notwithstanding we count it eight hundred Leagues from *Quebec* by the River to the Sea. And the Navigation it self has something of difficulty, because of the continual Fogs.

While I was at *Quebec*, the *Canadins* told me that *Sieur Desgroseliers* assured them he had great trouble to get thither by reason of the Ice, which was seven or eight foot thick, which was driven from the Northward with whole Trees, and the Earth it self together. Birds were seen which had there built their Nests, so that they looked like so many little Islands. I do not affirm that it's altogether just as I say: But the said *Sieur Desgroseliers* and others

have

have assured me, that they have passed through Ice for two Leagues together, and that it's prodigiously thick, one piece upon another, driven by the Winds higher than the Towers of great Cities. So that we are not to admire what Sea-men tell us, that upon those great Banks of Ice they have placed their Forges, and made Anchors.

The *English* have in *Hudson*'s-Bay the Forts of *Nelson* and *Neusavane*. The Court of *France* ordered heretofore the Traders in *Canada* to drive the *English* hence; but they had notice of it, and prevented the *Canadins*, by sending four great Ships to their assistance.

In the Countries to the North of the River of St. *Laurence* are found Mines of Iron and Steel, which would yield 40 or 50 *per Cent.* There are Lead-Mines which would yield about 30 *per Cent.* and Copper which would yield 18: And according to all appearance there might be found Mines of Silver and Gold. Miners were sent thither while I was there: but the *French* are too quick in their Enterprizes; they would be rich too soon, and threw them up, because they did not presently find what they sought for.

Messieurs Genins, the Father and the Son, who were sent thither to see the Work go on, then told me, That since the Company did not perform their Contract, they had taken a Resolution to return home to *Paris*. That if the *French* who were in *Canada* had had as much Patience as other Nations, as Mr. *Genin* sen. told me at that time, they had without doubt gain'd their Point.

In short, all the Countries upon the River of St. *Laurence* produce all sorts of Herbage and Seeds. There are all sorts of Materials, as Oak, and all other sorts of Wood fit for building of Ships; and the prodigious quantity of Firs furnish Pitch in abundance.

Above

Above all this, the Firs of which we have ſpoke, and Aſhes fit to make Potaſhes of, which may yield more than a hundred and fifty thouſand Livers a Year, and which alone are ſufficient to ſubſiſt a great number of poor People; all theſe things, I ſay, are capable of producing a conſiderable Profit for the ſubſiſtence of the Colonies which may be eſtabliſhed there.

That which is moſt remarkable is, that thoſe who are Maſters of thoſe Countries may keep in awe above a thouſand Veſſels which go every Year to fiſh, and who bring back Whale-Oil, and a great quantity of Salmon, and Poor-Jack, enough to furniſh whole Kingdoms. All thoſe Ships muſt of neceſſity come to the *Pierced Iſland*, where our *Recolets* have a little Miſſion-Houſe near the Fiſhers Huts, becauſe there is no other convenience in thoſe Countries. There is no Fortreſs at the entrance of the River, at leaſt I ſaw none. An Eſtabliſhment in this place without doubt would gain the Trade, and make it very advantagious in caſe a good Colony were ſettled there, which were very eaſy.

In the Deſcription which we have publiſhed of *Louiſiana*, and the Countries of the South, which may truly be called the Paradiſe of *America*, we have made mention of all the Animals, of which we have ſpoke here above; but beſides them, there are a great quantity of Bulls and wild Cows, which have a friſled Wool; they may be tamed and made fit for labour: beſides they would ſerve for Food, and might be ſhorn every Year like Sheep, and as good Cloth made of them as any in *Europe*. The Savages that dwell in thoſe Countries were never able to deſtroy theſe Beaſts, becauſe they change their Country according to the ſeaſons.

There are many Medicinal Herbs which are not in *Europe*, whoſe Effects are infallible, according to the

the Experience of the Savages: They cure with them all ſorts of Wounds, the Tertian and Quartan Agues; ſome of them purge well, and allay the Pains in the Reins, and ſuch like Maladies. There are likewiſe great quantities of Poiſons, as the Rind of the wild Gourd, and others which they make uſe of to deſtroy their Enemies. Serpents are common in ſome Parts, particularly Adders, Aſpicks, and Rattle-ſnakes; they are of a prodigious length and bigneſs, and bite dangerouſly poor Paſſengers: But they have Sovereign Remedies againſt their biting. There are in theſe Countries Frogs of a ſtupendous bigneſs, their croaking is as loud as the lowing of Cows.

There are here all ſorts of European Trees, and many of different ſpecies from ours, as I have already mentioned: Thoſe are, for Example, the Cotton Tree, and many others. Theſe Trees take deep rooting, and become very tall, which ſhews the goodneſs of the Soil. But the greateſt advantage that may be drawn from our Diſcovery between the frozen Sea and *New Mexico* conſiſts in this, as I have ſaid, that by the means of theſe Countries of the South, a Paſſage may be found to *China* and *Japan*, without being obliged to paſs the Equinoctial Line.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Of the Methods of the Savages in their Councils. Their crafty Policies againſt their Enemies, and their Cruelty againſt the Europeans; and how a ſtop may be put to them.

IT often happens that the Savages exerciſe great Cruelties againſt the Europeans, when they pretend to have been inſulted. Theſe Barbarians make Proclamation of War by three or four old Men in all their Villages: They do it with ſo loud a Voice, and ſo dreadful a Tone, that all that are in their Cabins, as well Men as Women, tremble for fear.

Preſently all the antient Men, and all thoſe who are to ſhare in their Counſels, meet at one of their great Cabins, where the Chief of their Nation dwells: There one of their Chiefs ſpeaks to them always in this manner; My Brethren, and my Nephews, one of ſuch a Nation has killed one of our People. For tho they have but a ſmall occaſion of Diſcontent, they always give out they are killed: We muſt then, ſays the Chief, make War upon them, extirpate them, and revenge the Evil they have done. If all thoſe that aſſiſt at the Council anſwer one after another, *Netho*, or *Togenskè*; and if they ſmoak in the *Calumet*, or Pipe of War, whilſt a little Savage takes care from time to time to ram it with Tobacco; this is taken for an unanimous Conſent of the Nation, and their Allies. Then one may ſee from time to time Troops of Souldiers marching to ſurpriſe their Enemies, tho they be often very innocent, and 'tis wholly upon the falſe ſuggeſtion of ſome ill-minded Savage.

One

One day the *Iroques* pretending an Injury done by a French-man of *Canada*, they would not attack the whole Nation, but contented themselves to discharge their Fury upon two of them, whom they killed with Hatchets; after they tied their Bodies to great Stones, and cast them into the River to conceal this black Action; and there had never been any thing known of it, if after some time the Ropes had not broke, and the River brought their Bodies to the Bank.

The Savages perceiving that they were suspected, because they were forbidden to come near the Fort and the Houses of the Inhabitants, began to fear lest the *Canadins* should revenge this barbarous Action: To prevent the Effects of it, they went up to the three Rivers, and held a Council of about eight hundred Men: The Result of their Assembly was, that they should endeavour to surprize and cut the Throats of all the People in *Quebec*, the Capital City of *Canada*, at that time but poorly inhabited.

It's hard to keep Secrecy in a Council of so many Men at once, who without doubt were not all of one sentiment: Providence therefore, that watched for the Conservation of this little growing Colony, permitted that one of the Savages, called *Foriere*, whom some of our Order of St. *Francis* had instructed at the three Rivers two years together, who had a great kindness for them, gave Advice to one of our Friars, called Friar *Pacificus*, who presently gave notice to the Government. This obliged them to intrench themselves in a little wooden Fort, fortified with Stakes, and ill-ordered Palisadoes. This Savage was highly rewarded, and more was promised him, to oblige him not only to discover their further Designs, but also to endeavour to divert them from their Enterprize against the *Canadins*.

This Savage acquitted himself very well of his Com-

Commiſſion: He manag'd this Affair ſo happily, that he not only made them to quit their former Deſign, but fully perſwaded them to reconcile themſelves with the French, and to obtain Proviſions, of which they ſtood much in need at that time. The Savages ſent to this end forty Canoos with Women to fetch in Proviſions. The *Canadins* furniſhed them with as much as the time would permit.

The French received with a great deal of Joy the Propoſitions of Peace, which were made them in full Council by the Savage *Foriere* on the part of the *Iroques*, whom he had appeaſed. They were told that the Chiefs and Captains of the Nation ſhould give up the Murderers to the *Canadins* to diſpoſe of them as they thought good: To this effect their Antients ſhould have Orders to come to *Quebec* to treat on this Affair.

The Propoſition which *Foriere* made to the Savages on this Subject, at firſt frighted them; but afterwards reflecting upon the Weakneſs, and the ſweet Temper of the French in *Canada*, and relying upon the Credit of Father *Joſeph Caron* a Recolet, whom they eſteemed their Friend, they perſwaded one of the two who was the leſs guilty, to go down with them to *Quebec*. In the mean time the *Iroques* ordered their little Army to make a halt half a League from the French Fort, to expect the Succeſs of the Negotiation.

The *Iroques* preſented their Criminals to the *Canadins*, with a quantity of Bever Robes, which they gave to wipe away their Tears, according to their Cuſtom. In effect they made up the Buſineſs by their Preſents: It's thus they commonly appeaſe the Anger of thoſe they have provoked, and engage their Allies, make Peace, deliver Priſoners, and as I may ſay, raiſe the Dead: In ſhort, there's neither Propoſal nor Anſwer, but by Preſents,

which

which ſerve inſtead of Words in their Harangues.

The Preſents which the Savages make for a Man who has been murdered, are many; but commonly it's not he that committed the Murder that offers them; but the Cuſtom is that it be done by his Parents, Townſhip, or ſometimes by the whole Nation, according to the Quality of him who was killed. If the Murderer be met with by the Parents of the Defunct, before he has made ſatisfaction, he's put to Death immediately. According to this Cuſtom, before *Foriere*, the Antients and Captains of the Savages began to ſpeak, who made a Preſent of twelve Elk Skins to ſweeten the *Canadins*.

After they had treated, they made a ſecond Preſent, and laid it at the Feet of the *Canadins*, ſaying, It was to cleanſe the bloody Part of the Place where the Murder was committed, proteſting they had no knowledg of this Affair till it was done; and that all the Chiefs of the Nation had condemned the Attempt. The third was to ſtrengthen the Arms of thoſe who had found the Bodies on the Bank of the River, and who had carried them into the Woods: They gave them alſo two Robes of Bever, to repoſe upon, and refreſh themſelves after the Labour they had ſuffered in burying them. The fourth was to waſh and cleanſe thoſe who were polluted with the Murder, and to obtain the Spirit again which they had loſt, when they gave the unfortunate Stroke. The fifth to efface all the Reſentments the *Canadins* might have. The ſixth was to make an inviolable Peace with the French; adding, that for the future they would caſt away their Hatchets, ſo far that they ſhould never be found; which was as much as to ſay, that their Nation being in perfect Peace with the Europeans, they would have no uſe of any Arms, only for Hunting. The ſeventh was to evidence the Deſire they had that the *Canadins* would have their

Ears pierced; which is to say in their Language, that they would be open to the Sweetness of Peace, to pardon the two Murderers the Fault they had committed.

They offered a Quantity of Chains of Sea-Purple-Shells, to light a Fire of Counsel (as they phrased it) at the three Rivers, where the *Iroques* then were, and another at *Quebec*. They added another Present of two thousand Grains of black and blue Purple, to serve in Wood and Fewel for these two Fires.

Here the Reader is to observe, that the Savages seldom have any Assemblies, but they have their Pipe in their Mouth; Fire being necessary to light their Pipes, they always have it ready in their Consults: so that it's the same thing among them to light a Fire of Counsel, as to assemble to consult. The eighth Present was to desire a Union of their Nation with the *Canadins*; and then they offered a great Chain of Sea Purple, with ten Robes of Bever and Elk, to confirm all they had said.

Whatsoever purpose was made at *Quebec* to punish the Murderers, to prevent the like Mischiefs for the future, they were obliged to desist from it, and pardon the Murderers; because they were not in a condition to resist such a powerful Enemy: so all was concluded, and two Hostages were demanded of the Savages for the performance of their Promises. They put into Father *Joseph*'s Hands two young *Iroques* Boys, called *Nigamon* and *Tebachi*, to be instructed. In conclusion, the guilty Persons were sent back notwithstanding, upon condition that at the arrival of the Ships which were expected from *Europe*, this Affair should have its final Decision.

I remember when I was in *Canada*, I heard the French often murmur that this Affair was managed thus, and that the Murderers should avoid the Stroke of Justice. After this the *Iroques* committed a great many

many such like Enormities, saying they should be quit for a few Skins of wild Beasts, instead of those of the *Canadins*, whom they would flea off alive; and that those of their Nation would not suffer such like Actions without a sutable Revenge, tho the whole Nation of the *Iroques* should perish to a Man.

In effect these Barbarians grew every day more insolent upon it, and despised the *Canadins*, as People of no Courage; so that whatsoever Face they put upon the Matter in their Treaty, it was only done out of Policy to advantage themselves by their Commerce of Furs for the Merchandises of *Europe*.

We see at this day, that the War which the *Iroques* have at present with the French in *Canada*, furnishes us with continual Examples of their Cruelty. The Europeans ought to take away their Fire-Arms, to reduce them, and to make them reside in one Place, and to live after the mode of *Europe*: This would be the means to convert them to Christianity. The Spaniards took this Method with the Mexicans, who dare not carry Fire-Arms, it being punished with Death; nevertheless they are not the worse used, and the Mexicans are as good Catholicks as any in the World, and carry the easiest Yoak of any Subjects in the Universe.

Our first Recollets in the first Colony of *Canada*, saw a necessity of overthrowing the Council of the *Iroques*, which are the most redoubted Enemies of the *Europeans*: They observed that all the Peaces which these Savages made, were only Feints to cover the Breaches of former Treaties. Our Fathers often represented this to the Court of *France*, that to convert these Barbarians, and to hinder them from taking Measures prejudicial to the Colony of *Canada*, it was necessary to found a Seminary of fifty or sixty young *Iroques* for seven or eight years only; after

which they might be maintained of the Revenue of the Ground, which might be cultivated during that time. That those Children offered themselves every day to our Religious by consent of their Parents, to be instructed and brought up in the Christian Religion. That the *Iroques* and other Savages, seeing their Children educated in this manner, would form no more Enterprizes against the Colony, as long as their Children were in the Seminary, as Guarantees of the Fidelity of their Parents.

CHAP. XXXV.

Of the proper Methods to establish good Colonies. The Thoughts and Opinions of the Savages touching Heaven and Earth.

THE Religious of our Order of St. *Francis* can possess nothing in Property, neither can they according to their Institute, buy or possess any Revenues. There is no Order so fit as ours to support the Colonies that are established by the Catholicks in *America:* The Truth of what I say is seen by those which the Emperor *Charles* the fifth sent into new *Mexico*; where are to be seen this day an Infinity of great Families, that have made great Advantages of the Disinterestedness of our Religious; the best Lands have not been swallowed up, as we see in *Canada*, where we see the richest and most fertile Places in the hands of some Communities, who have laid hold of them during the absence of the Recollects; who notwithstanding are the first Missioners of *Canada*, having near fourscore Years ago attempted the planting of the Gospel there.

The People of *New France* having earnestly desired our Return, after a long forced absence, we found

found that the beſt Lands of our Eſtabliſhment of the Convent of our Lady of Angels, were ſeized upon; where I have often renewed and marked the Bounds which remained, to prevent the Deſigns of thoſe who would ſeize upon the Remainder: But my Deſign is not to tax or offend any body; tho I publiſh thoſe things that may diſpleaſe ſome, I ſhall ſpeak nothing but Truth.

I ſhall not ſpeak here of the great Advantages which have accrued to the four Parts of the World by the Miſſions of our Recollets, it would require large Volumes; I ſhall only relate here the Labours of our Religious in this Age, and the great Diſcoveries made by us in *America*. When the French Colony of *Canada* was eſtabliſhed, our Recollets asked nothing of the Government, but a dozen Men fit for Husbandry-Affairs; which were to be commanded by a ſecular Maſter of a Family, for the Subſiſtence of fifty or ſixty young Savage Children, whilſt our Religious extended themſelves on all ſides in the Miſſion to draw others to Chriſtianity. Theſe Religious expoſe their Lives, and ſubject themſelves to all ſorts of Trouble and Fatigue, in order to plant the Goſpel all over the World.

Our Religious long ago adviſed that Chriſtian Religion, and the Authority of Juſtice, ſhould be ſupported by a good Gariſon, eſtabliſhed in ſome convenient Place in the *Northern America*, which might keep in ſubjection more than eight hundred Leagues of Country all along the River of St. *Lawrence*: There is no way to approach thither, but by the Mouth of this great River. This would be the true means to make Trade flouriſh: The Power of the Prince would be augmented, and his Dominions far extended by the Poſſeſſion of this great River.

There might be joined to this many great Countries which might be ſeized upon in this vaſt Conti-

uent upon the River *Meſchaſipi*, which is far more convenient than the River of St. *Lawrence* to eſtabliſh Colonies in: for here may be had two Harveſts a year, and in ſome places three, beſides a great many other advantages. To which may be added, that by this means a great many Countries would become tributary, and might be joined to theſe new Colonies. To this I would heartily contribute, being ready to ſacrifice the remainder of my Days to ſuch a good work.

Firſt, To bring to a happy concluſion ſo noble an Enterprize, it's neceſſary that the Princes or States, which would make uſe of our Diſcoveries, ſhould very exactly adminiſter Juſtice. The beginnings of all Colonies are difficult. It's neceſſary therefore to prevent Thefts, Murders, Debaucheries, Blaſphemies, and all other ſorts of Crimes, which are too common with the Europeans that inhabit *America*.

Secondly, A Fort ought to be built at the mouth of the River of St. *Laurence*, and above all at the mouth of *Meſchaſipi*, which are the only places where Ships can come. Then the Inhabitants might extend themſelves, and clear the Ground twenty, or twenty five Leagues round about. They might have ſeveral Harveſts in the Year, and might employ themſelves in taming wild Bulls, which might be made uſe of ſeveral ways: beſides, advantage muſt be drawn from Mines and Sugar-Canes, which are here far more frequent than in the Iſles of *America*, the Ground being richer and fitter for Canes; among which may be ſown great quantities of ſeveral ſorts of Grain, which never come to maturity in thoſe Iſlands. The Climate of the Countries which are betwixt the frozen Sea and the Gulph of *Mexico*, is far more temperate along the River *Meſchaſipi* than in the Iſles above mention'd. The Air is of the ſame Temperature as in *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Provence*. The Men and Women go always

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with their Heads bare, and are taller than the Europeans.

As to the Sentiments these Barbarians have of Heaven and Earth; when they are asked, Who is he that made them? some of their more antient and abler Men answer, That as to the Heavens they know not who made them. If you have been there, say they, you must know something of the matter: it's a foolish Question, say they, to ask what we think of a place so high above our Heads; how would you have us to speak of a place that never none saw?

But, say they, can you shew by the Scripture of which you speak, a Man that ever came from thence, and the manner how he mounted up thither? When we answer, that our Souls being unfettered from the Body, are of infinite agility, and that in the twinkling of an Eye they mount up thither to receive the recompence of their Works from the hand of the Master of Life; these People, who have a great indifference for whatsoever is said to them, and are cunning enough in seeming to approve in outward appearance, whatsoever is thought convenient to propose to them; being harder pressed, they answer, It's well for those of your Country; but we Americans do not go to Heaven after Death: We only go to the Country of Souls, whither our People go to hunt fat Beasts, where they live in greater Tranquillity than here. All that you say is good for those that dwell beyond the great Lake; for so they call the Sea. They further say, that as to themselves they are made in another manner than the People of *Europe:* So that their Conversion does solely depend upon the good will and pleasure of God, who must water our planting.

As to the Sentiments of the Savages relating to the Earth, they make use of a certain Genius which they call *Micaboche*, who covered all the Earth with Water,

which seems to retain some Tradition of the Deluge. These Savages believe that there are between Heaven and Earth, certain Spirits in the Air, which have power to predict future things; and others that are excellent Physicians, for the cure of all sorts of Maladies. This makes them very superstitious, and to consult the Oracles with great exactness.

One of these Master-Juglers, who passed for a Wizard and Conjurer among them, made a Cabin be erected with ten great Stakes well fix'd in the Ground. He made a dreadful Noise about consulting the Spirits, to know if there would quickly fall abundance of Snow, for the better hunting of Elks and Bevers. This famous Jugler cried out all on a sudden, that he saw great store of Elks which were at a distance, but that they were coming within seven or eight Leagues of their Cabins. This made these poor People rejoice exceedingly.

It's to be observ'd that when the Jugler, or pretended Prophet, misses the mark, they have no less esteem for him; it's sufficient that he hath guessed right three or four times, to gain him a lasting Reputation. I told them that the great Master of Heaven, who governs all things, ought only to be addressed in our Petitions and Necessities. They answered me that they knew him not, and that they would be glad to know whether he could send them Elks and Bevers; so blind are these People. I told them once that we Europeans knew how all things were made, and by whom. They told me that if I would go and live with them, they would send their Children to be instructed. These Sentiments of the Savages let us see, that the greatest good that can be done among them, is to baptize their dying Infants.

The Missions of the Northern *America* are far different from others. There is nothing to be found agreeable to Nature, nothing but what contradicts the

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inclination of the Senſes: One muſt ſubmit to infinite Fatigues, and barren and ingrateful Labour. Notwithſtanding thoſe who apply themſelves with zeal, confeſs they find a ſecret Charm which inclines them to this work; ſo that if any Neceſſity diverts them from it, they are much perplexed.

This ſeems to me to be a good Preſage for the Miſſions of theſe Countries, and that God Almighty will not ſuffer them always to remain in the Shadows of Death; ſince by his Grace he makes the Miſſioners find ſo much pleaſure in thoſe Labours, ſo contrary to Fleſh and Blood.

Patience is abſolutely neceſſary for this Employ. All along our Travels in *America* we din'd upon the Ground, or upon ſome Mat of Bulruſhes when we were in the Cabins of ſome Savage. A Fagot of Cedar was our Pillow in the Night; our Cloaks our Coverlets; our Knees our Table; ſome Buſhes tied together, our Seats; the Leaves of Indian Corn, our Napkins. We had ſome Knives, but they were of no uſe to us for want of Bread to cut. Except in the time of the great Hunting, and certain Seaſons of the Year, Fleſh-meat was ſo ſcarce that we were oft ſix Weeks, or two Months, without eating any, unleſs it were a morſel of a wild Dog, or ſome piece of a Bear, or Fox, which the Savages gave us at their Feaſts.

Our common Food was the ſame with the Savages, *viz. Sagamite*, or Pottage made of Water and Indian Corn with Gourds: To give it a Reliſh, we put into it Marjoram, and a ſort of Balm, with wild Onions which we found in the Woods and Fields. Our ordinary Drink was Water. If any of us was indiſpoſed, while the Sap was up in the Trees, we made a hole in the Bark of a Maple, and there dropt out a ſweet Sugar-like Juice, which we ſaved in a Platter made of the Bark of a Birch-tree; we drank it as a Sovereign Re-

whom I had managed with all the dexterity I could, during the six or seven Years I was among them; sometimes by Embassies, which I was charged with; sometimes by the Instructions I gave them for Reading and Writing, and for Religion it self. We continued this warlike Nation in Peace as much as possible.

The *Iroquois*, who call the Religious of our Order *Chitagon*, that is to say, *naked Feet*, have often regretted our Absence about the Lake *Ontario*, or *Frontenac*, where they had a Mission-house. I have often heard say, that when a Priest of St. *Sulpitius*, a Jesuit, or any other Ecclesiastick of *Canada*, asked them how it happen'd that they gave them no share of their Game, as they were wont to give the *naked Feet*? They answered, that our *Recolets* liv'd in common as they did, and that they took no Recompence of all the Presents that they made them: That they neither took Furs, of which all the Europeans are so greedy, nor any other Recompence, for all that our Religious did for them. This shews, that one must begin by the Animal part with those People, and after proceed to the Spiritual. And that if, as in the Primitive Church, the Christians of this Age were of one Heart, and one Soul, and wholly disinteressed, without doubt this Nation would be easier converted.

It's true, that while I was a Missioner at *Fort Frontenac*, among the *Iroquois*, and that the Jesuits were scattered here and there in their Country, these Religious served to other purposes than my self: For as those Barbarians are wholly led by Sense, they then looked upon the Jesuit Missioners as Captains, and Men of considerable Quality, as Envoys, and perpetual Residents of the French Colony of *Canada*, who maintained the Alliance which was among them, who disposed of Peace and War, who served for Hostages when they went to trade in the inhabited

parts

parts of *Canada*; otherwiſe theſe Barbarians would have had perpetual Diffidences, and would have been afraid of being detained for want of Hoſtages, and of this Security for their Lives and Goods.

It's obſerved, that the Miſſioners of whom I ſpeak, undertake the Tutelage of the Savages, of which they acquit themſelves very well. They draw theſe Barbarians into their Reſidences, and exerciſe them in clearing the Ground of their Settlements, which contributes much to the Advantage of the Colony, and the Church it ſelf. To their Reputation and Zeal muſt be attributed many conſiderable Foundations for this Miſſion, which they have obtained from many powerful and zealous Perſons, whoſe Liberality they manage as well as the annual Gratifications of the King for the ſame purpoſe.

Beſides, theſe Miſſions are the places where true Saints are formed, by the Labours of an indefatigable Zeal, a fervent Charity, accompanied with Patience and Humility, and by a great Diſintereſſedneſs; by an extraordinary Sweetneſs, and by a lively and pure Faith: but it's a kind of an Apoſtleſhip different from that of other Nations.

But to ſpeak here one word of the Progreſs of theſe Miſſions. Is it poſſible that this pretended prodigious number of converted Savages ſhould eſcape the Knowledg of a croud of French Canadins, who go abroad every Year from home at leaſt three or four hundred Leagues, to the utmoſt Borders of the diſcovered Countries, to trade, where ſome of them ſojourn whole Years for to barter their Commodities? How happen'd it that theſe devout Churches diſappeared when I travelled through the middle of the Countries? How comes it to paſs, that ſo many Men of Senſe ſhould not diſcern them?

Beſides, it's well known that the Savages come every Year in great Troops into *Canada* with their Canoos

Canoos loaden with Furs. There is to be seen a Concourse of all sorts of Savages, who are as it were the select People of all those different Nations. All the Country are Witnesses, that in their Manners and Doings nothing appears but Barbarity, without any sign or mark of Religion. All the Proof they can give, is, that like Idols they assist at our Mysteries and Instructions: for the rest we may see them indifferent, without discovering any Faith or Spirit of Religion. It may be called rather an effect of their Curiosity: Some of them come upon the account of Interest, others upon a Motive of Fear, or some particular Esteem they have for the Person of some Missioner, whom they often regard as a considerable Chief.

All therefore that can be done, is to draw out of the Woods some Families which shew the most Docility, and to dispose them to settle in some inhabited Place. There are two Villages in the Neighbourhood of *Quebec*, and two other higher up upon the River of St. *Lawrence*, near *Mont-royal*, which are separated from the Commerce of the Europeans. It's therefore in those Parts that the Church of the Savages is to be found. Tho their Language as well as Manners are altogether savage, yet for all that those *Neophytes* are kept in their Devoir. Great pains is taken to educate them in Piety, yet not much is gain'd upon their Spirit. There are some that are Christians in good earnest; but there are many entire Families who escape from the Missioners after having abode with them ten or twelve Years, and return to the Woods to their first mode of living.

It may be reply'd by some, that we see many Christians in *Europe* swerve from their Duty, and disgrace their Character by a Libertine Conduct; but we do not discourse here of the Corruption of the Manners of the Savages, but of their adhesion to Christianity: It's certain they quite apostatize from it.

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The contrary has been declar'd in *France*, in ſeveral Relations, which have been publiſh'd upon this Subject, which were order'd to be read to the Penſionaries of the *Urſelines*. It's ſaid, that there are a great many Indians converted, and others ready for the Sacrament of Confirmation, and that ſome of them have received the leſſer Orders. Would to God that all thoſe Churches ſpoke of in the Relations were as real, as all the judicious People of *Canada* know they are chimerical. If they were formerly, what's become of them now? after almoſt an Age they are no more to be ſeen; and yet the Colony of *Canada* increaſes. The Trade is greater than formerly, and it's better known, ſo that the pretended number of Converts would be eaſily diſcovered.

When formerly theſe Relations were read to Perſons who had not that knowledg of *Canada* we have at preſent, it gained Credit with every body according to their Inclinations. It was eaſy to impoſe upon People in this reſpect. But as to me who have been upon the Place, and who have always ſpoke my mind with a great deal of Candor and Liberty, I content my ſelf to appeal to all the Inhabitants of *New France*, who are at preſent fifteen or ſixteen thouſand Souls; I am aſſured they will confeſs ingenuouſly, there is ſcarce any Chriſtianity among the Savages at this day, except ſome particular Perſons, and thoſe in ſmall numbers, very fickle and inconſtant, ready at every moment for any ſmall Intereſt to abandon their Religion.

It may be that ſome Advances are made towards the civilizing thoſe Barbarians, and to make them more polite than they were. But all the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries know, that they are no more Chriſtians than formerly. Notwithſtanding it's very probable that they would have adhered better to the Chriſtian Religion, if they had trod in the ſteps

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of the Religious of our Order, if they had kept a ſolid Peace with the *Iroquois* and other Savage Nations, and if they had been mingled among the Europeans, to make them more docible and more tractable.

While I was in the Miſſion of *Canada*, I bethought me one day to ask ſome judicious Men, how it happen'd that we had no more Annual Relations of the Miſſions of *Canada*. When thoſe whom I had asked gave me no Anſwer, a certain Perſon who thought no ill, told me, that the Court of *Rome* had order'd that the Relations of foreign Miſſions ſhould be exactly true: That the Congregation *De propaganda Fide* had order'd that no more ſhould be publiſhed that were not of publick Notoriety, and clear as the Sun at Noon. This ſeem'd to me to be a judicious Anſwer.

Reflecting upon this, we ought to admire the Judgments of God upon theſe barbarous Nations, and to acknowledg his Mercy toward us, that he has been pleaſed to let us be born of Parents illuminated with the bright Rays of the Chriſtian Faith, in a Country where we are betimes formed to Piety, and all manner of Vertues; where the multitude of interiour Graces and exteriour Helps preſent us the means to ſecure our Salvation, if we be faithful.

We ought to give him the Glory that is due to him for the excellent Lights we have received, and which diſtinguiſh us ſo advantageouſly from ſo many Nations who are in the Darkneſs of Error and Blindneſs. This ought to oblige us to make our Election ſure by all ſorts of good Works, ſetting before our Eyes the account we muſt one day give before the dreadful Tribunal of God, of the uſe we have made of all his Graces and Benefits.

CHAP.

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The Taking of Quebec by The English

M. Vander Gucht Sculp.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The History of the Irruption which the English made into Canada *in the Year* 1628. *The taking of* Quebec, *the Metropolis of* Canada, *in the Year* 1629. *The most honourable Treatment they gave the* Recolets.

I Thought my self obliged to publish the Observations which I have drawn from the Reverend Father *Valentine le Roux*, Provincial Commissary of our *Recolets* of *Canada*, who is a Man of singular Merit. I have told you in my first Volume, that I communicated to him my Journal of the Discovery I made of all the River of *Meschasipi*. This Man, who has a deep and piercing Judgment, has published what he knows of the Intrigues of *Canada* under a borrowed Name; and he shews in his Work, that the Conduct of Providence is always admirable, and that she accomplishes her Designs by ways impenetrable, in their Beginning, in their Progress, and in their Perfection.

The Colony of *New France*, says this clear-sighted Religious, for a long time flourished more and more; great Discoveries were made, Trade advanced, the People encreased, Chappels and Oratories were built in many places, and the Country had a new face of Government: But God permitted all this to be ruined by the descent of the English, who pretend that their Soveraign is not only King of three Kingdoms, but also of the Sea.

Some English, zealous for their Nation, armed a Fleet in 1628, to seize upon *Canada*, in the Reign of *Lewis* XIII, Father of the present King. Two Tur-

tles, of which great Flights are in this Country, fell of themselves in a very calm time into the Fort of *Quebec* the 9th of *July* the same Year. The Inhabitants of *Canada* took it for a Presage of the Change that happen'd.

The English in their *Route* seized upon a French Vessel which was at the Mouth of the River of St. *Francis*, in that part of the Isle which is called *Pierced*, because of a small Cape of Land which shoots out into the Sea, in the middle of which is a great Arch which is naturally pierced in the Rock, under which the *Chaloups* that fish for *Poor Jack* pass when they return from Fishing. The English sail'd with a fair Wind, and advanced up the River as far as *Tadoussac*, which is a River that falls into this, and comes from the Countries which are towards *Hudson's Bay*, as may be seen in the Maps.

The English found a Bark, which they made use of to land 20 Souldiers: These were sent to seize upon Cape *Tourment*, so called, because of the danger the Ships are in there during the Tempests, which are more frequent here than in any part of the River. Two Savages who lived among the Europeans having discovered them, gave advice to *Quebec*, which is but about seven or eight Leagues from the Cape.

Monsieur *Champlin*, who was Governour of that City, entreated Father *Joseph Caron*, Superiour of the *Recolets*, to go near the English Fleet in a Canoo of Bark, to know the Truth. The Advice was but too true. He found it confirm'd about five Leagues from *Quebec*, and had no other time but presently to run a shoar, and save himself in the Woods. The two Religious we had at Cape *Tourment* came by Land to *Quebec*, with the Sieur *Foucher*, who was Commandant there, to give an account of the taking of Cape *Tourment*. The English there seized upon all the Effects valuable, and the Inhabitants fled into the Woods.

Woods. There were but three that fell into the hands of the Englisſh; one of whom was called *River*, with his Wife and his Niece. Soon after they appeared before *Quebec*, accompanied with an Officer of Mr. *Kirk*, Admiral of the Englisſh fleet.

This Officer ſummoned them by a Letter from the Admiral to ſurrender the Place: but the Governour, who was a gallant Man of his Perſon, tho much *embaraſs'd* with this Invaſion, remaining firm and undaunted, made them ſo fierce an Anſwer, that the Engliſh, who will rather periſh than deſiſt from an Enterprize, believed by this Anſwer that the Fort of *Quebec* was in a better condition than they thought it was. So this time they let it alone, and putting off their Deſign to a more convenient time, they ſet ſail for *England*.

The Engliſh General then putting off the Deſign to the Year following, contented himſelf with taking a great number of Priſoners, which he carried into *England*, and among the reſt a young Savage *Huron*, called *Lewis of the Holy Faith*, who had been baptized two Years before by the Archbiſhop of *Rouen*. The reſt of the Priſoners, doubtleſs with a deſign to be the more valued, ſaid, that that Savage was the Son of the King of *Canada*. The Engliſh General believed that ſo conſiderable a Priſoner would much facilitate the Conqueſt of the whole Country the Year following. But he was much ſurprized when after he had taken *Quebec*, he underſtood that the Father of this Savage was a poor miſerable *Huron*, who had neither Credit nor Power in his own Nation. This was the Reaſon that the Son was reſtored in a pitiful Habit: The Engliſh took from him all the Equipage they had given him, as ſuppoſing he had been the Son of a King. The Reputation this Savage was in for ſome time was the Cauſe of his Ruin, and it may be of his eternal Damnation; for being

among the Savages, he loſt all the Ideas of Chriſtian Religion.

In the fright that every body was in upon the Arrival of the Engliſh, many Savage Mountaineers came to offer their Service to the *Recolets* of *Quebec*: among the reſt the above-mentioned *Napaga Biſcou*, who having been inſtructed and baptized by Father *Joſeph Caron*, endeavoured to do the beſt ſervice he could to his Benefactor. As ſoon therefore as he could make his Eſcape from the Engliſh, he repreſented to Father *Joſeph*, that if the Enemy did the ſame at *Quebec* they had done at Cape *Tourment*, the Savages would find no Retreat any more for their Comfort during Winter: I beg of you Father, ſays this Savage, that you would be pleaſed to let two or three of your Friars go along with me; they will ſay Prayers for us, and inſtruct our Children, and thoſe of our Nation who have not as yet ſeen any *Naked Feet*, for ſo they call our Recolets: I'll ſupport them; they ſhall be treated as my ſelf, and we'll come from time to time to viſit you.

Father *Joſeph* liked well this Propoſition: the Savage took two along with him, which he led to a place where this Indian dwelt, who likewiſe begg'd that Friar *Gervaſe Mohier*, a Lay-brother, might be one of them: they deſigned to paſs that Winter among the *Algonquins*. They preſently therefore departed for the three Rivers, and run a great many riſques in the Journey: Their Canoos were bilged about fifteen Leagues below the three Rivers, ſo that they were forced to go the reſt of the Journey thorow the Woods. They thought to be carried by the Tide, which flows up the River of St. *Lawrence* above a hundred and thirty ſix Leagues from the Sea: At laſt by the help of a Canoo which they light upon by chance, they came to the three Rivers, where were Villages erected by the Mountaineers and *Algonquins*:

these Savages were expecting there the Harvest-time for their Indian Corn. They made great demonstrations of the real Affection they had for them, of whom they had heard much Discourse from Father to Son.

Being there, they understood the English were gone out of the River, and that before that they had fought and vanquished the French Fleet which came into *Canada*. This News obliged Monsieur *Champlin*, Governour of *Quebec*, as well as all the rest of the French, to desire Father *Joseph* to come back.

While things passed thus, twenty Canoos were seen to arrive, conducted by the *Hurons*, who brought along with them Father *Joseph de la Roche Daillon*, Recolet. The Grief of *Nepaga Buscon* is not to be expressed when he was to part with this Religious: But the Order was peremptory. I cannot here forget the dexterous Contrivance of a young Christian Savage to rid himself out of the hands of the English, or rather to procure some Present from the French: He was called *Peter Antony Arekouanon*, and had been baptized in *France*, and educated in a College at the Expence of the Prince of *Guimeni*: He was at *Tadoussac* when the English appeared there, and so was taken Prisoner with the rest, and carried aboard: he was interrogated in French and Latin, but made as if he understood nothing of what he was asked.

Captain *Michel* a French-man, who out of Discontent had a long time before gone over to the English, knew this Savage, and that he understood both Languages: He gave an account to the General of it, who kept him for an Interpreter for the English when they should go to traffick with the Indians. *Peter Antony* could no longer conceal his Knowledg of the two Languages, and that he was a Christian; but he bethought him of a Stratagem: He pre-

tended he would really espouse the part of the *English*. He told the Admiral he was to keep some measures with the *French*; and above all, that he was much obliged to the *Recollets* who had converted him, and who had taught him what he understood of Latin and French. He begg'd of the Admiral, that he would not carry him to *Quebec*, that he could be more serviceable to him if he would be pleased to let him go to the three Rivers with Canoos loaden with Provisions and Merchandizes; and that he would induce a great number of Savages to come and trade. The Admiral believed what he said, and granted him all he demanded: But this Man seeing himself out of the hands of the *English*, who had treated him very civilly, went straight to the *Red Island*, cross'd the River of St. *Laurence*, came to the River of *Wolves*, and afterwards the Admiral heard no farther tidings of him.

They had a hard Winter of it at *Quebec*, for they wanted all sorts of Necessaries; and because the Ships which brought Provisions were seized on by the *English*, they were therefore obliged to divide the small Provision that was left. Our Religious might have had their share as well as others, but they contented themselves with Indian Corn, and the Pulse they had sown. Madam *Hebert* made them a Present of two Barrels of Pease, which are extraordinary good and large in *Canada*; besides they had Raisins, and had made a provision of Acorns in case of necessity, and they were so happy as to catch some Eels, which are plentiful in that River. Providence multiplied their Provisions so, that they were able to furnish three Seminaries of Savages, and many more who were in great Necessity.

The Jesuits, who for some time had made use of one half of our House, having built one for themselves, where they now dwell, did their utmost to succour the *French*. Early

Early in the Spring Monsieur *de Champlin* seeing the Necessity we were in all Winter, which was very sharp in *Canada*, insomuch that for the most part the Snow was five or six foot deep, and continued so, for it seldom rains in Winter, begged of Father *Joseph* to grant him a part of our Lands towards *Hair-point*, or *Point aux lievres*: Some other private Persons granted other Lands: They were plowed in haste, and there was sown bearded Wheat, Pease and Indian Wheat, at the beginning and middle of *May*. They were forced to do so, because Wheat there cannot endure the Winter as in our Parts of *Europe*, because of the extream Cold.

The said *Sieur Champlin* had sent People towards *Gaspee*, which is between the *Pierced Island* and *Boston*, which belongs to the *English*, to see if they could hear any tidings of any French Vessel; they went in a Chaloup, but could hear no news of any. But they were assured that the *Gaspesien* Savages offered to maintain twenty intire Families. The *Algonquins* and Mountaneers offered larger Supplies. A Ship was equipped to go into *France*; the *Sieur de Boulé*, *Sieur Champlin*'s Brother-in-law, was made Captain of her; he took the *Sieur des Dames* Commissary of the Company, for his Lieutenant.

Being come near *Gaspee* in the Bay of St. *Laurence*, they happily met with a French Ship commanded by the *Sieur Emeric de Caen*, who brought them Supplies. He told them that the King did send the *Sieur de Rasilly* to fight the *English*, and save the Country. The Ship was laden, and the *Sieur de Boulle* returned towards *Quebec*, and then was taken by an English Vessel, and was made a Prisoner of War with all his Crew.

In the interim the *Hurons* arrived at *Quebec* with twenty Canoos, we bought their Indian Corn: Monsieur *de Champlin* gave one part to the Jesuits, who

had taken upon them the charge to take care of several; and our *Recollets* having also receiv'd a supply of Victuals, subsisted till the arrival of the *English*, which was not long.

The *English* Fleet surprised the *French* in *Canada*; they appeared in the Morning the 19*th* of *July* 1629. over against the great Bay of *Quebec*, at the Point of the Isle of *Orleans*. The Fleet consisted of three Ships, and six others which stay'd at *Tadoussac*, and followed them. The Missioners, Jesuits, and *Recollets* had Orders to retire into the Fort of *Quebec* with the Inhabitants. Father *Valentine le Roux* assured us there was only Powder for three or four Discharges of Cannon, and eight or nine hundred Loads for Musquets.

Mr. *Kirk*, General of the English Fleet, sent an English Gentleman to *Sieur de Champlin* to summon the Place, and to deliver a very honourable Letter. The miserable state of the Country, which had neither Provisions nor Ammunition, for there had come no Supply for two Years past, obliged the Governor to return a more supple Answer than the Year past.

He therefore deputed Father *Joseph Caron*, Superior of the *Recollets*, and sent him aboard the English Admiral, to treat of the Surrender of *Quebec* upon advantagious Terms; and above all, to obtain some delay, if possible. Father *Joseph* demanded fifteen days, but the English General knowing the weak condition of the place, would admit of no delay. The Father insisted still upon fifteen days, upon which the English call'd a Council, and the Result was, they would only grant them that day till night. The Admiral gave Orders to Father *Joseph* to return to *Quebec* with this Answer, and that they should there make the Articles of Capitulation ready, which should be punctually perform'd.

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The Engliſh Admiral in a very civil and obliging manner told Father *Joſeph*, that he with his Religious might return to their Convent, and bid him be of good chear, for no harm ſhould be done them, happen what would.

Two French Priſoners, the one called *Bailli*, formerly Commiſſary of the Company of Merchants, and *Peter le Roy*, by trade a Waggoner, had done ill Offices to the Jeſuits with one of the Engliſh Captains: They perſwaded him that he ſhould find with them great Riches. This was the reaſon that this Captain told Father *Joſeph* in a heat, that if the Wind had proved good, they would have begun with their College firſt. Father *Joſeph* at his return told them of the deſign, on purpoſe that they might take care of their Affairs in the Articles of the Treaty which were to be made.

Father *Joſeph* having receiv'd this Anſwer from the Admiral, who ſhewed him the Ships with all the Ammunition, and the Souldiers with their Arms; in concluſion, he was ſet a ſhoar, and made his Report to Monſieur *Champlin* at *Quebec*.

A Council was held, and they were divided in their Sentiments. Two French Men who had accompanied Father *Joſeph*, obſerved that the Engliſh were but few in number, and that they had not above two or three hundred Men of regular Troops, with ſome others that had not the Mein of Souldiers: Beſides, they confided much in the Courage of the Inhabitants of *Quebec*; they were therefore much inclined, as well as the Jeſuits, and our Religious, to run the risk of a Siege. But the Experience that Monſieur *Champlin* had of the Bravery of the *Engliſh*, who would rather periſh than deſiſt from an Enterprize which they had once begun, adviſed the Council rather to ſurrender upon honourable Terms than ruin all. The Articles of Capitulation were drawn up according

ding to Monsieur *Champlin's* Advice: Father *Joseph* was commissioned to carry them aboard the English Admiral; and all things being adjusted, they demanded time till the next day.

At the same time the Savages that were lovers of our Religious, and above all, the afore-mentioned *Chaumin*, solicited Father *Joseph* and our Friars, that they would be pleased to grant, that two or three of our Religious might retire into the Woods, and from thence into their Country. Altho *Chaumin* was not yet well confirmed in the Christian Religion, he had a very great love and esteem for our Religious, because they lived in common as the Savages do. Then having deliberated on this Proposition, they considered on the one side, that the *English* would not be any long time in possession of the Country, and that sooner or later the King of *France* would re-enter by Treaty, or some other ways; that in the interim it would advance the common good amongst the Savages, who offered to entertain our Religious; and that when the Country returned under the Dominion of *France*, our Religious might still be found in *Canada*, and in estate to continue their ordinary Labours, and support their begun Establishment. They were the more invited to embrace this Proposal, because the English General had given so great marks of Friendship to Father *Joseph*: In conclusion, two of our Religious offered to go. Father *Joseph* at the same time did not go far off, and during this he thought it good to lose no time, since they must depart and escape, as some of the *French* did, who went away with the Savages in a Canoo; and it was not little Grief to the Missioners to be stopt by force in their just Designs.

The Council of *Quebec* and the other Chieftains opposed their departure, and it was concluded for divers Reasons politick and purely human; which whether

whether it was for the Reproach they pretended to have reason to fear in *France*, or whether it was the distrust of Providence towards our Religious, or whether, in short, it was they did not believe the *French* would return again into *Canada*, they were forced to yield.

This afforded matter to build a Complaint upon at Court, and particularly by our Friars of the Province of St. *Denis*, against Father *Joseph*, as not having that Firmness and Zeal which he ought to have had on this occasion; and that the Savages who had put all their Confidence in the *Recollets*, had been better disposed to the Christian Religion than ever before.

Father *Joseph* justified himself the best he could, and affirmed he had done nothing but executed the Orders of the Council of *Quebec*, as the Answers make evident, when he gave an account to the Definitor of his Province at his return, giving an account of his Mission.

The next day, being the 20*th* of *July*, in the Year 1629. the *Sieur de Champlin* having been on board the English Admiral, the Articles of Capitulation were signed by both Parties; after which the *English* went ashore, and were put in possession of *Canada* by the *Sieur de Champlin*.

Father *Valentine de Roux*, an antient *Commissaire*, Provincial of the Friars of *Canada*, whom I saw at my return from my Discovery, hath all the Articles of Capitulation made by the *French* at *Quebec* with the *English*, when the *English* took possession; he said the *Sieur de Champlin* saved with his Family all his Effects, and even found some advantage by this Treaty by the good Entertainment the *English* shew'd him. The *French* Inhabitants who were then in the Country had every one twenty Crowns, and all the rest of their Goods were to remain to the Conquerors;

rors; and from this was made the great Complaint, becauſe there were found ſome particular Perſons who were enrich'd upon this occaſion. Thoſe who were willing to ſtay in the Country, obtained great Advantages of the *Engliſh*, but moſt of all the Family of Monſieur *Hebert*, whom I have often converſed with at *Mount Royal*, when I paſſed by to go to the Fort of *Frontenac*. The Religious, I confeſs, were much indebted to the Generoſity of the *Engliſh* for divers ſingular Favours, which has always made me have a great Eſteem for that brave Nation: They kept punctually their Word given by their Admiral, not ſuffering any Injury to be done to the Convent of our Lady of Angels at *Quebec*, nor to our firſt Reſidence, which was the place where now ſtands the Cathedral Church of *Quebec*, our Religious not having been re-eſtabliſhed there ſince. But notwithſtanding all the Diligence that the Engliſh Officers made uſe of in our favour, they could not hinder but one of their Souldiers ſtole from us a Silver Chalice: But the Engliſh Officers, who are naturally generous, teſtified much Trouble at it to our Religious, and ſwore ſolemnly to take Revenge on the Party if he could be diſcovered.

The Jeſuits, who came not into *Canada* till fourteen or fifteen Years after our Friars (who by conſequence were the firſt Miſſioners of *America*) met with a Treatment far different; their Houſe was pillaged, and all that was found was given as a Prey to the Souldiers; and they were obliged to imbark the next day with the *Sieur Champlin*, and all the *French* except twenty ſeven, who ſet ſail towards *Tadouſſac*: But the two Brothers *Lewis* and *Kirk*, the one Admiral, and the other Vice-Admiral of the *Engliſh*, permitted our Religious to ſtay at *Quebec*: The *Engliſh* teſtifying then publickly, that they left us in *Canada*, to inſtruct the Natives in the Princi-

Principles of the Christian Religion, and that with the consent of the King of *England*, that we might be hindred from returning into *France*. They had at the same time as much familiarity with them in all things, to say or do, or make Visits, with the same liberty as before the taking of *Quebec*; also they were so far from hindering the exercise of the Romish Religion, that they prayed them to take from them Wine for the Mass; which they knew was before deputed for the ordinary Service of the Church, which there they heartily offered. Our Recollects lived so above six Weeks after the taking of *Quebec*, and received much Civility from the English, who solicited them to stay amongst them, having liberty to instruct the Natives who dealt with them. This continued till the 9th of *September* following, when they embarked us aboard the Sieur *Pontgrave*, who remained at *Canada*, because of his Indisposition, with a design to rejoin the Sieur *Champlin*, the Jesuits, and all the French of *Canada*, who were ordered to pass to *Tadoussac*, the day after the taking *Quebec*. I leave you to think how great Sorrow the Missioners were plunged into, when enforced to abandon a Mission so long followed, and with so much application.

The hopes that our Friars had of returning in some good time into *Canada*, made them hide in several places part of their Utensils, and closed up in a Case of Elk-Skins, put into a good Box, which no Air could get into, the principal Ornaments of the Church. The English Fleet set sail the 14th of *September* for *England*, and arrived at *Plimouth* the 18th of *October*, where our Recollects staid five or six days; after which they were conducted to *London*, with some more French; from *London* they got to *Callice* the 24th of the same Month, and from thence to our Convent of *Paris*.

The

The Publick may remark, that the Englisſh having conſerved our Convent of *Quebec*, and that of our Lady of Angels, the laſt of which was found in good eſtate to receive the Jeſuits at their return into *Canada*, whilſt their Houſe was making ready; our Religious having told them of the place where they had hid their Ornaments, gave power to the Jeſuits to make uſe of them, or any thing they had there, as by their conſent declared to Father *John* the Jeſuit, which they were pleaſed to accept, and made uſe of our Goods as their own; alſo of our Houſe, of our Church, and of our Lands, of which one part they hold at preſent, from a place called the *Gribanne*, unto the ſide of the Convent of our Lady of Angels. From which it is to be obſerved, that a Letter attributed to Father *L' Allemant* Jeſuit, and related in the 13th Tome of the *French Mercury*, muſt be a Forgery: For there he, amongſt other things contrary to Truth, makes him ſay that he was of the Sentiments of his Provincial, to whom he writ, to dedicate their Church to our Lady of Angels, and that ours was conſecrated to St. *Charles*; which clearly demonſtrates that this Letter was not Father *L' Allemant*'s, as is ſaid: He was better vers'd in the Hiſtory of *America*, than to be ignorant that the firſt Church in *Canada* belonged to the Recollects, who were the firſt Miſſioners, and that it was conſecrated under the name of *our Lady of Angels*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

How the Religious of the Order of St. Francis, *in their Missions through the habitable World, have been before the Jesuits.*

I Cannot but follow the Sentiments of Father *Valentine le Roux*, whom I have mentioned in the foregoing Chapter, which he hath been pleased to publish under the Name of Father *Christian le Clerc*.

It is a great Glory, and a great subject of Consolation, for our Holy Order of the Religious of St. *Francis*, to have had the advantage to be the first Forerunners of the Reverend Fathers of that Company of Jesus, in all places, by preaching the Gospel, and first digging, and preparing the Vineyard of our Lord, in all Apostolical things, in both the *Indies East* and *West*, in *Asia*, in *Barbary*, in *Turky*, and generally through all parts; where the Children of St. *Ignatius* have since walked in the Steps of the Children of St. *Francis*.

In the *East-Indies*, where the Jesuits are at this day great in Credit, in Merit, and in Wealth, having the Dew of Heaven, and the Fat of the Earth; the Receiver-General, whose Name I have forgot, made this Discourse in my presence, at the Table of Monsieur *Comte de Frontenac*, Governour-General of *New-France*: That eight Friars Minors were sent in the Year of our Lord 1500, and preached the Gospel at *Callecute*, and *Cochim*; there receiving the Crown of Martyrdom, all except Father *Henry*, who at his return into *Spain* was made Confessor to the King of *Portugal*, and Bishop of *Ceuta*.

In

In 1502, there was ordered a great Mission of our Religious, who opened the way much farther to advance the Standard of the Cross; and there made a very great progress of the Gospel, by the Conversion of a prodigious number of these People.

In the Year 1510, our Religious of the Order of St. *Francis* built the famous College or Seminary of *Goa*, the capital City of the *East-Indies*; and our Religious had the Conduct of it, and what accrued to it, for the space of 28 Years; till at the last, in the Year 1542, our Religious gave it to St. *Francis Xaverius*, that he might apply himself wholly, with his Disciples, to preach the Gospel to those barbarous Nations; of which the Historians of those times give evidence, and the Life of St. *Francis Xaverius*, the first Edition, does declare; above all Father *Horace Torcelin*, in a later Edition, alloweth it: But a certain late Author of the Jesuits has been pleased to suppress this mark of Acknowledgment, which of Justice is due to us.

It is well known we have had the honour both in the *East* and *West-Indies*, and even in *Japan*, where we have been sharers with the Fathers in the Crown of Martyrdom; our Religious having planted the Gospel in the Kingdom of *Voxu*, part of the East of *Japan*, as I have shewn in the Preface of this Book; and it is in these vast Countries where the Jesuits have been afterwards introduced, supported, loved, favoured, and joined with them in the Apostolical Labours.

It is not less evident in other parts of the World; the Religious of St. *Francis* having supported and imployed to this day, as powerful Missioners as any since the beginning of their Order.

Alexander the Fourth, in the Year 1254, gives Testimony, in one of his Epistles, that our Religious had spread themselves in all Countries, not only of Schis-

Schismaticks, but amongst those of Infidels. Remark the words of the Sovereign Pontiff.

" *Alexander, &c.* To Our well-beloved the Friers-
" minors, who have been sent Missioners into the
" Land of the *Sarazens*, *Painims*, *Greeks*, *Bulgarians*,
" *Cumanians*, *Ethiopians*, *Syrians*, *Iberians*, *Jacobites*,
" *Nubians*, *Nestorians*, *Georgians*, *Armenians*, *Indi-*
" *ans*, *Monosolites*, *Tartars*, the Higher and Lower
" *Hungary*, to the Christian Captives among the
" Turks, and to other unbelieving Nations of the
" East, or in any other parts where they are, wish-
" ing them Health, and sending them our Apostol-
" lick Benediction.

In 1272, our Reverend Father *Jerom d' Ascole*, afterwards created Pope *Nicholas* the Fourth, with his Disciples, not only managed the Reconciliation of the Greek with the Latin Church, but preached also the Gospel in *Tartary*; and by this means the Religious of our Order were sent for by the Princes of the Higher and Lower *Armenia*, in 1289, and continued their Conquests in 1332.

Turky, with the Kingdoms and Countries under the Grand Signior, have been, and are yet the Theaters of the Zeal of the Religious of St. *Francis*, and are demonstrations of our Travels. In the Holy Land, and other places, now subject to the Turks, the Christians are yet governed by the direction of the Children of St. *Francis*. Those who keep the Sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ, have done considerable Service to the Reverend Fathers Jesuits; others of them upon divers occasions have willingly served them.

History maketh mention, that in the Year 1342, our Missioners went into *Bosnia* and *Sclavonia*, amongst the Infidels, amongst the great *Tartars*; who now possess *China*, and into *Persia*, *Media*, and *Chaldea*.

In 1370 our Mission was reinforced by *Urban* the fifth with 60 of our Religious; the Order being then honoured by a great number of *Martyrs*.

The Embassy of *Eugenia* the 4*th*, and the Mission of 40 of our Religious to *Prester John* in 1439. supported afterward by a greater Number, is well known, as well as the Reduction of these States by them to the Obedience of the Church of *Rome*.

I should never have done, if I should undertake to give an account of all the famous Missions we have been honoured with through all the World; in which the Reverend Fathers Jesuits have since spread themselves, and are now entred into our Labours, or rather we have the Advantage of continuing them with us, and acting together in perfect Union for the Glory of God, and Propagation of his Gospel, which we only seek.

It is for this reason, that our Recolets of *Paris* called into *Canada* the Jesuits to help them, that they might labour together for the gaining of Souls: But it is remarkable, that when the English had restored *Canada* to the French after four Years abode there, the Jesuits, who had better Helps for returning thither than our Religious, and as it were by Intrigues, a Bar was put to the Return of our Recolets. It was a sensible trouble to see, that since we had preceded all the Jesuits in all other Missions of the Christian World, that of *New France* was the only Place where we had not the Consolation to continue with them in the Apostolical Labours; and by so much the more, because that reciprocal Charity, which was not in the least diminished between the two Bodies, perswaded us that the Jesuits, full of Vertue and Merit, had much regretted our absence, as seems to be evident by their Letters at that time.

It would require a Volume to describe the Difficulties that our Religious have had, to return into our Mis-

Missions of *Canada*, and the Intrigues that some have made use of to hinder it: but nothing was omitted as to that. In conclusion, about thirty years after the Deputies of *Canada*, who were impatient for the return of our Recolets, told our Religious more than they were willing to know, and more than Charity would permit to publish; the Deputies told our Religious, they wanted some to make Curats at *Quebec*, and in some other places; that their Consciences were much troubled to have to do with the same People, both for Spirituals and Temporals, there being no Persons to whom they might communicate the difficulties of their Consciences, but to the Jesuits; and that the Recolets not being suffered to be amongst them was a great loss.

The Directors of the Company of *Canada* discoursed us to the like purpose, particularly Monsieur *Rose*, in company of Monsieur *Margonne*, *Berhubier*, and others; who speaking to our Recolets, express'd himself in these terms. 'My Fathers, it had been 'better you had returned into *Canada* than any o-'thers; it is a high Injustice done to them, and the 'Inhabitants: we now see where the Fault lay, pre-'sent your Reasons, and you, and those of the 'Country, shall have all the Justice we can do you. The Secretary of the Company likewise spoke thus to the Religious. 'At other times, my Fathers, I 'have been against you, for which I have begged 'God's pardon: I was mistaken at that present; I 'see well I have offended; and I pray God you may 'be suffered to return into *Canada*, after so long 'time, there to take charge of your Cures: you are 'much longed for, for the repose of Consciences.

Father *Zachary Moreau*, Recolet, who died the death of the Just in my Arms, in our Convent of St. *Germains en Lay*, and *Paul Huett*, who hath been my Father and Master from my Youth, at our Convent

of Recolets at *Montergir*, ſaid to the Deputies of the Company of *Canada*; 'That tho they would even 'permit us to return, we would not pretend to exerciſe the Function of Curats, leſt we ſhould give 'Jealouſy to any: But if the Reverend Fathers the Jeſuits ſhould do us the ſame Favour that our antient 'Fathers had done them, in the Year 1625, when our 'Father *Joſeph le Caron*, Superiour of our Convent of '*Quebec*, permitted them, and even pray'd them out 'of love to exerciſe the Function of Cures by turns. 'But all at laſt ſerved for nothing; the Company 'ſent back our Religious to the Council of *Quebec*, 'to amuſe them; becauſe the Council was compoſed 'of a Governour, and Perſons who were Creatures 'of the Reverend Fathers Jeſuits, as were the Superiour of the Miſſion of the *Sindic*, and of the Inhabitants, whom they eaſily gained to hinder our 'return into *Canada*. The Father Provincial of the 'Jeſuits, and the Father *L' Allemont* Superiour of the 'Profeſt Houſe, was then in *France*, Superiour of the 'Miſſions, which all center'd to prolong our return. The Reader may judg, that if the Reverend Fathers Jeſuits had been in our place, and our Recolets in theirs, whether we ſhould have been wanting to put a value upon their Requeſts, and employed our Credit to ſerve them: Our Recolets ſtood firm for them againſt the whole Country, who were againſt their coming into *Canada*; and after their arrival, when the Governour and Inhabitants oppoſed their Reception, in the Year 1625, we ſupported them.

True Charity, which is right and ſimple, perſwaded us the Reverend Fathers Jeſuits would not be wanting to make us a willing return of the like, upon this preſent occaſion; and they aſſured us by their Letter the Year following, that it was only want of Power and Credit in the Council of *Quebec*, that they could not do us the Service they deſired.

From

From this it is easy to judg, that there was not one favourable Resolution given towards our Religious: The Director-General of the Company, Monsieur *Lauzon*, appearing to be careless of our return, and in it a very great Obstacle; he passing in quality of Governour of *Canada*, having often promised our Re-admission: and afterwards going Governour, pretended not to be wanting to do us good Offices. The Marquess *de Denoville*, who after the great Discovery I had made, went over in quality of Governour of *Canada*, made us the like Promises of Monsieur *Lauzon*, for the progress of our Discovery: besides, the Marquess had Orders to support our Recolets in their Institute, from the Court of *France*; but it proved quite contrary. The Court afterwards recalling him from his Government, it was given to Monsieur the Count *de Frontenac*, who hath been in my time a true Father to our Recolets, and a great support to our Missions in *Canada*; as I have spoke at large in my Description of my *Louisiana*, and more in my former Volume.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of the Sentiments that a Missioner ought to have of the little Progress they find in their Labours.

ALL the Christian World acknowledg for a certain and undoubted Truth, and Maxim of Religion, and one of the chief Principles of Faith, that the Vocation and true Conversion of People and Nations, is the great Work and Mercy of the Power of God, and of the triumphant Efficacy of his Grace and Spirit. But if this be true of Nations that are Infidels and Idolaters, which are already under some Laws

Laws and Rules, and so better prepared to receive the Instructions of Christian Religion; the Apostolick Man ought much more to acknowledg this dependance upon the Soveraign Lord, in respect of those barbarous Nations who have not any regard of any Religion true or false, who live without Rule, without Order, without Law, without God, without Worship, where Reason is buried in Matter, and incapable of reasoning the most common things of Religion and Faith.

Such are the People of *Canada*, all along the River of St. *Laurence*, and generally a prodigious quantity of People, of sundry Nations; which I have given an account of in my *Louisiana*, or former Book. And that which I offer is that they would in earnest acknowledg, that the Work of the conversion of so many blind Nations, is above our strength, and that it only appertains to the Father of Spirits, as saith St. *Paul*, who hath the Hearts of all Men in his Hands, and who only is able to remove the Vail which covereth the Eyes of these Barbarians, and to clear their Understanding, to dissipate the Chaos of darkness, wherein they are buried, to bend their Inclinations, soften their hard and inflexible Hearts, and civilize them, and make them capable of those Laws which right Reason suggests; and so submit themselves to that which Religion prescribes.

This is the Foundation of a true Apostleship, in respect of the Natives of *Canada*, and all our great Discoveries twelve hundred Leagues beyond it. They ought to have all Moral and Theological Vertues, who are designed for so great a work as the Conversion of so many Nations; for whose Salvation I would willingly expose my Life. But before one sacrifices, and wholly devotes himself to this great Mission, he ought to lay it down for a certain Principle, That none can be drawn efficaciously to Jesus Christ, if the

Father

Father of Lights do not draw him by the force of his victorious Grace: This his inviſible Spirit breathes where and when he pleaſes; that the moments of Grace are known to God, and in the hands of the Power of the Father; and that having called all Men to Faith, in the preparation of his good Will, common to all, he gives them in his own time, exterior, interior, and ſufficient Grace to obtain it: That the work is not only of him that runs, nor him that wills, but principally of him who illuminates and touches the Heart. The Glory does not belong to him that preaches, nor to him that plants, nor to him that waters, but to him that gives the increaſe. That a Sacrifice of all Nature is not able to merit of *right*, the firſt Grace of Creation, which does not fall under that head. That it's in vain to endeavour to erect a Spiritual Edifice, if God do not aſſiſt by his preparing and preventing Grace.

An humble Simplicity muſt be the ſole of all their Apoſtolical Labours, and a profound Annihilation of themſelves, and ſubmiſſion to the holy Will of God. When their Zeal has not its effect, they muſt be content to ſay, We have done our part, as to what is required of our Miniſtry, but we are unprofitable Servants.

I now beg of my Lord God upon my Knees, with my hands lifted up to Heaven, that he would be pleaſed to continue and imprint in my Heart even to death, the Sentiments of Submiſſion to the Will of God, and my Superiors, touching the Salvation of the Souls of ſo many Savages, who are in the darkneſs of Ignorance; that I may make an intire Sacrifice of the reſt of my days in ſo laudable an Affair, expoſing my Soul to all the Events of the Providence of God, living and dying; and that I may be ſo happy as to leave Sentiments truly Apoſtolical, full of light, capacity, Vertue and Grace, of Zeal and Courage to undertake

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any thing for the Converſion of Souls, to ſuffer patiently the greateſt Difficulties, and the ſevereſt Contradictions, for the accompliſhment of their Miniſtry.

I beg of God from the bottom of my Heart, that all the Miſſioners of the Univerſe may with me be of the number of the Veſſels of Election, deſtinated to carry the Name of our Lord to People and Barbarous Nations, to the utmoſt ends of the World; and that the adorable Providence of God would be pleaſed to fortify his Militant Church with a number of Workmen, to labour in his Vineyard, to ſecond the Labours of all other Orders, Secular and Regular, in the new eſtabliſhments of the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt.

FINIS.

An Account of several New Discoveries in North-America.

Of *New-France.*

MR. *Joliet*, who was sent by Count *Frontenac* to discover a Way into the *South-Sea*, brought an exact Account of his Voyage, with a Map of it; But his Canow being overset, at the Foot of the Fall of *St. Louis*, in sight of *Montroyal*, his Chest and his two Men were lost; therefore the following Account contains only what he has remembred.

I set out from the Bay of *Puans* in the Latitude of 42 Degrees 4 Minutes, and having travell'd about 60 Leagues to the Westward, I found a *Portage*; and carrying our Canows over-land for half a League, I embark'd with six Men on the River *Misconsing*, which brought us into the *Meschasipi* in the Latitude of 42 Degrees and an half, on the 15th of *June*, 1674. This *Portage* is but 40 Leagues from the *Missisipi*. This River is half a League broad; its Stream is gentle to the Latitude of 38 degrees; for a River, from the West-North which runs into it, increase so much its Rapidity, that we cou'd make but five Leagues a Day in our Return. The Savages told us, that the Current is not half so great in Winter. The Banks of that River are covered with Woods down to the Sea; but the Cotton-Trees are so big, that I have seen some Canows made of those Trees, eighty Foot long, and three broad, which carry thirty Men. I saw 180 of those Wooden-Canows in one Village of the Sava-

ges, consisting of 300 Cabins. They have abundance of Holly Trees, and other Trees, the Bark whereof is White; Grapes, Apples, Plums, Chesnuts, Pomegranates, Mulberries, besides other Nuts unknown to *Europe*; plenty of Turky-Cocks, Parrots, Quails, Wild-Bulls, Stags, and Wild-Goats. These Sevages are affable, civil and obliging; and the first I met with presented me with a Pipe or *Calumet* of Peace, which is a Protection even in a Fight. Their Women and old Men take care of the Culture of the Ground, which is so fertile as to afford three Crops of *Indian* Corn every Year. They have abundance of Water-Melons, Citruls, and Gourds. When they have sown their Corn, they go a Huntng for Wild Bulls, whose Flesh they eat, and the Skin serves for their Coverings, having dress'd the same with a sort of Earth, which serves also to dye them. They have Axes and Knives from the *French* and *Spaniards*, in exchange of their Beavers, and Skins of Wild Goats. Those who live near the Sea have some Fire-Arms.

The *Mississipi* has few Windings and Turnings, and runs directy to the South, and having follow'd its Course till the 33^{d} Degree of Latitude, I resolv'd to return home, seeing that River did not discharge it self into *Mar Vermejo*, which we look'd for, as also because the *Spaniards* observ'd our Motions for six Days together. The Savages told me, that the *Spaniards* live within thirty Leagues to the Westward.

The said M. *Joliet* adds, That he had set down in his Journal an exact Description of the Iron-Mines they discover'd, as also of the Quarries of Marble, and Cole-Pits, and Places where they find Salt-Petre, with several other things. He had also observ'd what were the fittest Places to settle Colonies, *&c.* The Soil is very fertile, and produces abundance of Grapes, which might make delicious Wines.

The

The River of *St. Lewis*, which hath its Source near *Miſſichiganen*, is the biggeſt, and the moſt convenient for a Colony, its Mouth into the Lake being very convenient for an Harbour. It is deep and broad, and well ſtock'd with Sturgeons, and other Fiſhes. The Stags, Bulls, Wild-Goats, Turky-Cocks, and other Game, are more plentiful on the Banks of the ſaid River, than any where elſe. There are Meadows Ten or Twenty Leagues broad, encompaſs'd with fine Foreſts; behind which are other Meadows, in which Graſs grows ſix Foot high. Hemp grows naturally in all that Country.

Thoſe who ſhall ſettle themſelves there, need not be oblig'd, as we are here, to beſtow Ten Years labour for felling down the Trees, and grubbing up the Land, before it is fit for Corn; for the Ground is ready for the Plough in that fortunate Country, where they may have good Wine. Their young Wild Bulls may be eaſily learn'd to plough their Land; and their long curl'd Hair, or rather Wool, may ſerve to make good Cloth for their wearing. In ſhort, that Soil wou'd afford any thing neceſſary for Life, except Salt, which they might have another way.

An Account of M. La Salles *Voyage to the River* Mississipi. *Directed to Count* Frontenac, *Governor of* New-France.

THE River of *Niagara* is Navigable for three Leagues, that is, from the Fall to the Mouth of the Lake *Erie*; but the Stream is so rapid, that it is almost impossible for a Bark to sail up into the Lake, without a strong Gale, and the help of many Men to hale from the Shore at the same time. But besides all this, it requires so many other Precautions, that one cannot expect always to succeed.

The Mouth of the Lake *Erie* is full of Sands, which make it dangerous; therefore to avoid that Danger, and not venture a Ship every Voyage, it will be safer to leave it at an Anchor, in a River which runs into the Lake six Leagues from the River *Niagara*, and is the only Harbour and Anchorage in this Lake.

There are three great Points which advance above ten Leagues into it; but being chiefly made up of Sand, they are so low that there is great Danger of running a Ship against them before they are discover'd, and therefore a Pilot must be very skilful and careful to steer a Ship in this dangerous Lake.

The Streight or Canal between the Lake *Erie*, and the *Huron*, is very rapid, and no less difficult than that of *Niagara*, though much deeper. The Streight of *Missilikinac* between the Lake *Huron*, and that of the *Illinois*, is attended with no less Difficulties; for the Current is commonly against the Wind. There is no Anchorage in the Lake

Huron

Huron, nor any Harbour in that of the *Illinois*, upon the Northern, Western, and Southern Coasts. There are many Islands in both Lakes, which make the Navigation of that of the *Illinois* very perilous; for there being no Harbour to run into for shelter, and the Storms being very terrible on that Lake, 'tis a great Providence when a Ship escapes being dash'd in pieces against those Islands. However, some Canals and Anchorages may be discover'd in time, which will remove those great Difficulties, as has hapned in the Lake of *Frontenac*, the Navigation whereof is now easy, whereas it was at first as dangerous as that of the Lake *Huron* or *Illinois*.

The Creek through which we went from the Lake of the *Illinois*, into the *Divine River*, is so shallow, and so much expos'd to the Storms, that no Ship can venture to get in, unless it be in a great Calm. Neither is the Country between the said Creek and the *Divine River*, fit for a Canal; for the Meadows between them are drown'd after any great Rain, and so a Canal will be immediately fill'd up with Sands: And besides, it is impossible to dig up the Ground, because of the Water, that Country being nothing but a Morass: But supposing it were possible to cut the Canal, it wou'd be however useless; for the *Divine River* is not navigable for forty Leagues together; that is, from that Place to the Village of the *Illinois*, except for Canows, who have hardly Water enough in Summer-time. Besides this Difficulty, there is a Fall near the Village.

We have seen no Mines there, though several Pieces of Copper are found in the Sand when the River is low. There is the best Hemp in that Country I have seen any where, though it grows naturally without any culture. The Savages tell us, that they have found near this Village some yellow Metal; but that cannot be Gold, according to

their own Relation, for the Oar of Gold cannot be so fine and bright as they told us. There are Coal-Pits on that River.

The Wild Bulls are grown somewhat scarce since the *Illinois* have been at War with their Neighbours, for now all Parties are continually Hunting of them. The Navigation is easy from Fort *Crevecœur* to the Sea; and *New-Mexico* is not above twenty Days Journey from the said Fort. The Nations of the *Metcntonta*, who live within Ten Days Journey from the said Fort, came to see M. *la Salle*, and brought a Horse's Hoof with them: They told us, That the *Spaniards* make a cruel War upon them, and that they use Spears more commonly than Fire-Arms. One may go by Water from Fort *Crevecœur* to the Habitation of these Savages.

There are no *Europeans* at the Mouth of the River *Colbert* (or *Mississipi*); and the Monster of which M. *Joliet* gives so dreadful a Description, is a Fancy of some Savages, and had never any Original. It is within a Days Journey and a half from Fort *Crevecœur*; but had M. *Joliet* gone down the River, he might have seen a more terrible one. That Gentleman has not consider'd that the *Mosopocla*, of whom he takes notice in his Map, were altogether destroy'd before he set out for his Voyage. He sets down also in his Maps several Nations, which are nothing but Families of the *Illinois*. The *Pronevoa*, *Carcarilica*, *Tamaroa*, *Koracocnitonon*, *Chinko*, *Caokia*, *Choponsca*, *Amonokoa*, *Cankia*, *Ocansa*, and several others, make up the Nation and the Village of the *Illinois*, consisting of about 400 Cabins cover'd with Rushes, without any Fortifications. I have told 1800 fighting Men amongst them. They have Peace now with all their Neighbours, except the *Iroquese*; and it wou'd be easy to reconcile them, were it not to be fear'd that they wou'd afterwards fall upon the *Outtouats*, whom they mortally hate, and dis-

turb

ſturb thereby our Commerce; ſo that we muſt leave them as they are; for as long as they ſhall have occaſion for us, they will be ready to comply with any thing that we can deſire from them, and keep in awe the Nations inhabiting to the Weſtward, who are much afraid of the *Illinois*.

The Banks of ſeven or eight Rivers, which diſcharge themſelves into the *Miſſiſſipi*, or *Colbert-River*, the leaſt whereof runs above 300 Leagues, are cover'd with Fine Timber for Building Ships.

M. *la Salle* has ſeen ſome Savages of three Nations through which *Ferdinand Sotto* paſs'd with his Army, *viz.* the *Sicachia*, *Caſcin*, and *Aminoya*: They told him that we might go by Water from *Crevecœur* into their Country.

It is highly neceſſary to carry on this Diſcovery; for the River inhabited by the *Sicachia*, which in all likelihood is the true *Chukagoua*, has its Source near *Carolina*, and conſequently very near the Habitation of the *Engliſh*, about three hundred Leagues to the Eaſtward of the *Miſſiſſipi* in the *French Florida*, at the foot of the *Apalachin* Hills: For had the *Engliſh* notice of it, they might by means of this River-Trade with the *Illinois*, *Miamis*, *Nadoueſſians*, and other Savages, ſpoil for ever our Commerce.

The Winter has been as hard in the Country of the *Illinois* as at Fort *Frontenac*; for though the Weather was there in *January* as temperate as in *Provence*, yet the River was ſtill frozen on the 22d of *March*; and therefore I conclude 'tis much the ſame Climate as the Country of the *Iroqueſe*.

The Country between the Lake of the *Illinois* and the Lake *Erie*, is a row of Mountains for a hundred Leagues together, from whence ſpring a great number of Rivers, which run to the Weſtward into the Lake of the *Illinois*, to the North into the Lake *Huron*, to the Eaſt into the Lake *Erie*, and to the South into the River *Ohio*. Their Sources are ſo near one

another, that in three Days Journey I cross'd twenty two, the least whereof is bigger than that of *Richelieu*. The top of these Mountains are flat, and full of Bogs and Morasses, which being not frozen, have prov'd an insupportable difficulty and trouble in our Voyage. There are now-and-then some Plains, which I take to be very fertile; they are cover'd with Bears, Stags, Wild-Goats, Turkey-Cocks, and Wolves, who are so fierce as hardly to be frighted away by the Noise of our Guns. There is a River in the bottom of the Lake *Erie*, within Ten Leagues of the Canal, which may very much shorten the way to the *Illinois*, it being navigable for Canows till within two Leagues of theirs; but the most convenient of all is the River *Ohio*, which being navigable for Barks, will save all the trouble of making a Communication between the Lake of the *Illinois* and the *Divine River*, and the great Expences of making the said River navigable to Fort *Crevecœur*.

One must not fancy that the Ground in the Country of the *Illinois* is ready for the Plough; some of them are too dry, others too wet; and in short, all require some Toil and Trouble; but I am sure they can sufficiently recompence in a little time, those who will be at the pains to cultivate them.

The Nations through which we have pass'd have receiv'd us very kindly, because of our *Calamet* of Peace, which is a safe Conduct and a sufficient Recommendation amongst the Savages.

The *Illinois* offer'd to accompany us to the Sea, in hopes, as we told them, that we would supply them that way with *European* Commodities; for the want of Knives, Axes, *&c.* makes them very officious. The young Calves may be easily tam'd, and very useful for setling our Plantations. The *Illinois* have also many Slaves which may be of great use to us.

There are as many idle Fellows amongst them as among other Nations, and a great many more Women

men than Men. They marry ſeveral Wives, ſometimes nine or ten, and commonly all Siſters if they can, thinking they agree better in their Family.

I have ſeen three Children who have been Baptiz'd; one call'd *Peter*, the other *Joſeph*, and the third *Mary*, who nevertheleſs are like to live as their Father, who has marry'd three Siſters; for they have no farther Chriſtian Inſtruction; Father *Allouez*, who Baptiz'd them, having left that Country, unleſs one would think that the Stick that Father left amongſt them, as a Mark that the Country belongs to him, has any extraordinary Virtue to promote Chriſtianity. Theſe are the only Chriſtians I have found amongſt them, which I am ſure cannot be ſuch but *in Fide Eccleſiæ*.

Father *Allouez* lives now in a Village of the *Miamis*, *Maskoutens*, and *Ochiakenens*, who have quitted their own Nation and Ancient Habitations, to confederate themſelves with the *Iroqueſe* againſt the *Illinois*; and for that purpoſe they ſent laſt Summer an Embaſſy into the Country of the *Iroqueſe*, with a Letter of Father *Allouez*. The end of that Embaſſy was, as I have ſaid, to oblige 'em to unite themſelves with them againſt the *Illinois*; and they were negotiating the Alliance, when I arriv'd at the Village of the *Tſonnontouans*; and upon notice thereof, a Woman was ſent to tell them to run away, for fear the *Iroqueſe* ſhould kill them. They had however no deſign to do them any harm, as it appear'd afterwards; for the *Iroqueſe* having overtaken the ſaid Ambaſſadors, they were kindly us'd; but they enter'd upon no Buſineſs, as long as I continu'd there. I met with one of the ſaid Ambaſſadors ſince that time in their own Country, who told me ſuch horrid things, that I cannot entirely believe them; and I rather ſuſpect the *Miamis* to be Contrivers thereof. However, Father *Allouez* had no ſooner intelligence that I was arriv'd at the Village of the

Illinois,

Illinois, than that they sent one *Monso*, one of their Chiefs, with four large Kettles, twelve Axes, and twenty Knives, to persuade the *Illinois* that I was Brother of the *Iroquese*; that my Breath smell'd like theirs; that I eat Serpents; that I was sent to betray them, and attack them one way, while the *Iroquese* should attack them by another; that I was hated by all the *Black-Gowns*, who forsook me because I design'd to destroy the *Miamis*, having taken two of them Prisoners; and, lastly, that I understood Physick enough to poyson all the World. Their Suggestions were so ridiculous and so false, that I had no great difficulty to convince the *Illinois* of the Malice of my Enemies; and *Monso* was in great danger of losing his Life for his pains. They told him he had an *Iroquese* Serpent under his Tongue, meaning his Baseness and Malice; that his Comrades who had been Ambassadors into their Country, had brought that Venom, and had breathed in the Malice of the *Iroquese* in smoaking in their *Calumet*. I was oblig'd to intercede for him, for else they would have murther'd him.

'Tis certain, that their Design is to engage Count *Frontenac* into a War with the *Iroquese*; and having tri'd in vain several Ways to succeed, they think there is no better than to persuade the Nation of the *Miamis*, who are our Confederates, to settle themselves near the *Illinois*, and make an Alliance with them, insomuch that the *Iroquese* cannot attack one Nation, without breaking with the other, and thereby oblige your Lordship either to forsake our Allies, or declare Wars against the *Iroquese*. This is not a rash and groundless Judgment; for these *Miamis*, with whom Father *Allouez* lives, have kill'd several *Iroquese* this Winter; and having cut the Fingers of another, they sent him back to tell their Nation that the *Miamis* are join'd with the *Illinois* against them. Perhaps that Perfidiousness obliges

Father

Father *Allouez* to quit them next Spring, as I understand he designs to do. However, I am confident to stop the Progress of this Cabal, if your Lordship comes this Year to weep *for the Death of the Onontake*, who have been kill'd; for the *Illinois* have promis'd me to release some Slaves, and forbear their Excursions against the *Iroquese*, who having been inform'd of my Good Offices, have expres's'd a great Gratitude thereof. This *Weeping* is a common Ceremony among the Savages, when any of their Warriors have been kill'd.

I do not wonder that the *Iroquese* should talk of invading our Allies; for they are every Year provok'd; and I have seen at *Missilinaokinak*, amongst the *Poutouatamits* and the *Miamis*, the Heads of several *Iroquese*, whom they have kill'd by Treachery, as they were a Hunting last Spring. This is come to the Knowledge of the *Iroquese*; for our Allies have been so impudent as to boast of it; and especially the *Poutouatamits*, who dancing the *Calumet* at *Missilinaokinak* before three *Agneiz*, or Envoys of the *Iroquese*, boasted of their Treachery, and held in their Hands several Heads of Hair of *Iroquese's*.

I cannot forbear to take notice of the Discourse I had with a Savage of the Nation of the *Wolf*, who being convinc'd of the Truth of the Christian Religion, and pressed by some Missionaries to embrace the Catholick, and by some *English* Ministers to embrace Theirs, was in great perplexity which of the two he should chuse; for, as he told me, these Men are very unlike the Apostles; the former because of their great Covetousness, and the latter because of their being marri'd. But having observ'd in the *Recollects* both Chastity and the Contempt of the Riches of the World, he was Baptiz'd by them.

I have seen in this Country abundance of Green Parrots, bigger and finer than those of our Islands.

A Dis-

A Discovery of some New Countries and Nations in the Northern America. *By Father* Marquette.

ON the 13th of *May*, 1673. I embark'd with M. *Joliet*, who was chosen to be our Director in this Undertaking, and five other *French*-men, in two Canows made of Barks of Trees, with some *Indian* Corn and boil'd Flesh for our Subsistence. We had taken care to get from the Savages all the Intelligence we could, concerning the Countries through which we design'd to travel, and had drawn a Map of the same, according to their Relation, in which we had mark'd the Rivers, and the Name of the Nations we were to meet, and the Rhombs of the Wind we were to make use of in our Journey.

The first Nation we met with, is call'd the *Nation of the Wild-Oats*: I went into their River to visit that People, to whom we have preach'd the Gospel for several Years, and amongst whom there are many good Christians. The *Wild-Oats*, from which they have got their Name, is a sort of Corn which grows naturally in the small Rivers, the bottom whereof is Owzie, as also in marshy Grounds. It is much like our *European* Oats; the Stem is knotted, and grows about two Foot above the Surface of the Water. The Corn is not bigger than ours, but it is twice as long, and therefore it yields much more Meal. It grows above the Water in *June*, and the Savages gather it about *September* in this manner;

manner: They go in their Canows into thoſe Rivers, and as they go they ſhake the Ears of the Corn in their Canows, which eaſily falls, if it be ripe: They dry it upon the Fire; and when it is very dry, they put it into a kind of Sack made with the Skin of Beaſts; and having made a Hole in the Ground, they put their Sack therein, and tread on it till they ſee the Chaff is ſeparated from the Corn, which they Winnow afterwards. They pound it in a Mortar to reduce it into Meal, or elſe boil it in Water, and ſeaſon it with Greaſe, which makes it near as good as our Rice.

I acquainted that Nation with the Deſign I had to travel farther into the Country, to diſcover the remoteſt Nations, and teach them the Myſteries of our Holy Religion; at which they were mightily ſurpriz'd, and did their utmoſt to diſſwade me from that Enterprize. They told me that I ſhould meet ſome Nations who ſpare no Strangers, whom they kill without any Provocation or Mercy; that the War thoſe different Nations had one with the other, ſhould daily expoſe me to be taken by their Warriors, who are perpetually abroad to ſurprize their Enemies: That the great River was exceedingly dangerous, and full of dreadful Monſters, who devour'd Men, and even the Canows themſelves. They added, That a Devil ſtopp'd the Paſſage of the ſaid River, and ſunk thoſe who were ſo bold as to come near the place where he ſtood; and, in ſhort, that the Heat was ſo exceſſive in thoſe Parts, that we ſhould never be able to preſerve our Health.

I return'd them my hearty Thanks for their good Advices; but told them I would not follow them, ſince the Salvation of a great many Souls were concern'd in our Undertaking, for whom I ſhould be glad to loſe my Life. I added, That I laugh'd at their pretended Devils and Monſters, and that their

Informations

Informations would oblige us to ſtand the more upon our Guard to avoid any Surprize. And ſo having pray'd to God with them, and given them ſome Inſtructions, we parted from them, and arriv'd at the Bay of *Puans*, where our Fathers make a conſiderable Progreſs towards the Converſion of thoſe Ignorant Nations.

The Name of this Bay ſounds better in the Language of the Savages than in ours; for according to the Word they make uſe of, one may call it as well the *Salted Bay*, as the *Stinking Bay*; for they call the Sea after the ſame Name. This oblig'd us to enquire whether there were in that Country any Salt Springs, as there is one among the *Iroqueſe*; but we could find none; and therefore we think that this Name was given to this Bay, becauſe of the great quantity of Mud and Owze that is there, from whence ſuch Vapours ariſe, that occaſion the moſt dreadful Thunders that ever I heard in any Country.

This Bay is about thirty Leagues long, and about eight broad, that is to ſay in its greateſt breadth; for it grows narrower, and forms a Cone at the extremity; where one may eaſily obſerve, that this Bay has its ſetled Tides juſt as the Sea. This is not a proper place to enquire whether the Flowing and Ebbing of the Water of this Bay, may be properly call'd a Tide, or whether they are occaſion'd by the Winds, which never, or very ſeldom fail to blow from the ſame Point upon the Moon's aſcending our Horizon; but this I may ſay, That in the greateſt Calm, the Waters in this Bay flow and ebb according to the Motion of the Moon; though I will not deny but that the Winds, which move the Waters towards the middle of the Lake, may contribute to this effect.

We left this Bay to go into a River that diſcharges it ſelf therein; and found its Mouth very broad

broad and deep. It flows very gently; but after we had advanc'd some Leagues into it, we saw it was interrupted by several Rocks and rapid Streams; and so shallow in some places, that it would hardly bear our Canows. The bottom is full of Flints, which are as so many Razors that cut the Canows, and made it impossible for our Men to walk therein, to make the Canows more light, when the shallowness of the Water did not permit us to row away. It is full of Bustard, Ducks, and Teals, because of the Wild Oats in the Marshes thereabouts. However, we conquer'd those Difficulties, and came to an Habitation of the *Miamis*, *Maskoutens*, and *Kikabeux*; but before we arriv'd at the Village, I had the Curiosity to taste the Mineral Water of a River near it, and found a Simple of a wonderful Virtue against the Venom of the Serpents. A Savage who knew it, had shown it to Father *Allouez*, who had often occasion to try its Virtues, God having been pleased to provide that Country with that wonderful Antidote against the Serpents, who are very dangerous in those Parts. The Root of that Simple is very hot, and tastes like Gunpowder; they chew it, and apply it to the Part of the Body stung by the Serpents; and this without any other Mystery cures the Wound; and the Serpents have such an Antipathy against the Herb, that they run away from any Man who has rubb'd his Body with the same. It produces several Stalks about a foot high; the Leaves are somewhat long; the Flower is white, and the whole looks like our Gilliflowers. I took one into our Canow, the better to examine it.

This Bay of *Puans* had been hitherto, as one may say, the *Ultima Thulæ* of the *French*, for they never durst advance further into the Country. This Village, as I have intimated, consists of three several Nations, *viz.* *Miamis*, *Maskoutens*, and *Kikabeux*. The first are more civil than the other, and better shap'd,

shap'd, as well as more liberal. They wear long Hair over their Ears, which looks well enough. They are accounted valiant Men amongst their Neighbours; but are so cunning, that they seldom return from their warlike Expeditions without Booty. They are apt to learn any thing, for they love to hear the *European*'s Talk; and Father *Allouez* told me, That they had such a violent desire to be instructed, that they often disturb'd his Rest to ask him Questions about what he had told them the Day before. The *Maskoutens* and *Kikabeux* are more Clownish; and there is as much difference between the *Miamis* and them, as between our Boors and Citizens. As the Rind of Birch-Trees are scarce in this Country, they are oblig'd to make their Cabins with Rushes, which serve as well for covering the same, as for Walls. It must be own'd that these Cabins are very convenient; for they take them down when they please, and carry them by small Parcels where-ever they will, without any trouble.

When I arriv'd there, I was very glad to see a great Cross set up in the middle of the Village, adorn'd with several White Skins, Red Girdles, Bows and Arrows, which that good People had offer'd to the Great *Manitou*, to return him their Thanks for the care he had taken of them during the Winter, and that he had granted them a prosperous Hunting. *Manitou* is the Name they give in general to all Spirits whom they think to be above the Nature of Man.

Their Village is situated on a Hill, from whence one may discover the largest Meadows in the World, adorn'd at certain distance with Groves and Woods. The Soil is very fertile, and produces a great quantity of *Indian* Corn. They preserve also Plums and Grapes.

As soon as we were arriv'd, M. *Joliet* and I desir'd the Eldest of the Savages to meet us, and I told them that M. *Joliet* was sent by the Governor of *Canada* to discover new Countries, and I from God Almighty to teach them the Knowledge of their Creator, who being absolute Master of all his Creatures, will have all Nations to know him; and that therefore to comply with his Will, I did not value my Life, which I freely expos'd to all manner of Dangers; Concluding, That we wanted two Guides to put us in our Way, which we desir'd them to grant us. We enforc'd our Compliment with some Presents that were kindly accepted by the Savages; who answer'd us likewise with a Present, *viz.* a *Mat*, which was our Bed during our Voyage. They granted us also two Guides, to accompany us for some Days. The next Day, being the 10th of *June*, the two *Miamis* who were to conduct us, imbark'd with us in sight of all the Inhabitants of the Village, who could not admire enough that seven *Europeans* should venture upon so dangerous and extraordinary an Undertaking.

We were inform'd, that within three Leagues of the *Maskoutens*, there was a River which runs into the * *Missisipi*, and that we were to go directly to the West-South-West, to find it; but there are so many Morasses and Lakes between it, that had it not been for our Guide, we had never been able to find it; and the River upon which we row'd, to find the Place we were to Land and carry our Canow into the other, was so full of Wild-Oats, that it lookt rather like a Corn-Field than a River; insomuch that we cou'd hardly discover its Channel. As the *Miamis* frequented this Place, they conducted us to the usual Place of *Portage*, and help'd us to carry our Canow over-land into the other River, distant from the former about two Miles and a half; from

* *Henepin* calls it *Meschasipi.*

whence they return'd home, leaving us in an unknown Country, having nothing to rely upon but the Divine Providence. We made a Solemn Vow in this place, and resolv'd to use some particular Prayers every Day to the Blessed Virgin, to recommend our Persons and Enterprize to her Protection, and afterwards embark'd.

This River is call'd *Mesconsin*: It is very broad, but the Sands make its Navigation difficult; and this Difficulty is increas'd by an infinite Number of Islands cover'd with Vines. The Country through which it flows is very fine; the Groves dispos'd at certain Distances in the Meadows, make a noble Prospect; and the Fruit of the Trees discovers the Fertility of the Soil. Those Groves are full of Wallnut-Trees, as also of Oaks, and of another sort of Trees unknown to us in *Europe*, the Boughs whereof are arm'd with long Thorns. We saw no other Game in these Meadows but abundance of Wild-Goats, and Wild-Bulls. Within thirty Leagues of this Place where we embark'd, we found some Iron-Mines; and one of our Company, who had formerly seen such Mines, told us that these were extraordinary good: They are not above three Foot deep, and are situate near a Row of Rocks, the Foot whereof is cover'd with fine Woods. After having row'd ten Leagues further, that is, forty Leagues in all from the Place where we embark'd, we came into the *Mississipi* on the 17th of *June*. The Mouth of the *Mesconsin* is about forty two Degrees and a half of Latitude. The Satisfaction I had to see this famous River, is almost incredible; for though the Savages had often spoken of it to our Men, none of them had been so bold as to venture so far in this unknown Country. This oblig'd me to consider this River with a greater Attention than otherwise I wou'd have done, as the Reader will perceive in perusing the following Account.

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The *Missisipi* is form'd by several Lakes in the North-Country, from whence it runs to the South. Its Channel is pretty narrow at the Mouth of the *Mescousin*, being streighten'd by a Row of high Mountains on the other side; but however its Stream is very gentle, because of its depth; for we found there nineteen Fathom Water. But a little below that Place, it enlarges it self, and is about three quarters of a League broad. Its Banks are very fine; but three Days after, we discover'd a much better Country. The Trees are higher, and the Islands so beautiful, that I verily believe there is nothing like it in the World. The Meadows are cover'd with an infinite number of Wild-Goats and Bulls, and the River with Bustards and Swans without Wings, because their Feathers fall in this Country about that time. We saw extraordinary Fishes, and one of them was so big, that our Canow was like to be broke into Pieces, because it run against it. We saw also a very hideous Sea-Monster; his Head was like that of a Tyger; but his Nose was somewhat sharper, and like a Wild-Cat; his Beard was long, his Ears stood upright, the Colour of his Head being Grey, and the Neck Black. He look'd upon us for some time; but as we came near him, our Oars frighted him away: This is the only one we saw. We caught abundance of Sturgeons, and another sort of Fish somewhat like our Trouts, except that their Eyes and Nose are much lesser, and that they have near the Nose a Bone like a Woman's Busk, three Inches broad, and a Foot and a half long, the End wherof is flat and very broad, insomuch that when they leap out of the Water, the Weight of that Bone makes them fall backwards. We saw also abundance of Turky-Cocks on the Banks of the River.

The *Pisikious*, which we call *Wild-Bulls*, are not much unlike ours; they are not altogether so long, but twice as big: We shot one of them, and thirteen Men had much ado to drag him from the Place where he fell. Their Head is of a prodigious bigness, their Forehead broad and flat, and their Horns (between which there is at least a Foot and a half distance) are all black, and much longer than those of our *European* Cattle. They have a Bump on the Back; and their Head, Breast, and part of the Shoulders, are cover'd with long Hair. They have in the middle of their Forehead an ugly Tuff of long Hair, which falling down over their Eyes, blinds them in a manner, and makes them look dreadful. The rest of the Body is cover'd with curl'd Hair, or rather Wooll, like our Sheep, but much thicker and ruffer. Their Hair falls in Summer-time, and then their Skin is as soft as Velvet, nothing remaining but a kind of short Down. The Savages make use of their Skins for Gowns, which they paint with several Colours. Their Flesh and Fat is excellent, and the best Dish of the Savages, who destroy abundance of them, though they are very fierce and dangerous; and if they can but take a Man with their Horns, they toss him up, and then tread upon him. The Savages hide themselves when they have shot at them, for else they shou'd be in great danger of their Lives, those Beasts being fiercer when wounded; they follow them at certain distances, till they have lost so much Blood as to be unable to do them any hurt, or to defend themselves. They Graze upon the Banks of the River; and I have seen above four hundred together.

We continu'd to fall down the River, having seen nothing for above a hundred Leagues, but Beasts and Birds; however, we were always upon our Guard, and especially during the Night, for fear

fear of any Surprize. We landed in the Evening to dreſs our Supper, and made but a little Fire, and then left the Shore, caſting an Anchor near the middle of the River, where we lay, as the ſafeſt Place, and yet one of us watch'd always by turns. On the 25th of *June* we went a-ſhore, and found ſome freſh Traces of Men upon the Sand, and then found a Path which led into a Meadow. We call'd our Men together, and it was reſolv'd that our Men ſhou'd continue in the Canows, while M. *Joliet* and I ſhou'd follow that Path, and endeavour to find the Habitation of the Savages. This Undertaking was very bold, yet relying upon God Almighty, we went on, and within ten Leagues from thence, diſcover'd a Village on the Banks of a River, and two other Villages on a Hill within half a League from the former. Having again implor'd God's Protection, we advanc'd ſo near to the Savages, that we cou'd hear them talk, and therefore thought it was time to give them notice of our Arrival, which we did with a loud Cry, and then ſtopp'd. The Savages immediately came out of their Cabins, and ſeeing but two Men, they were not frighted, and eſpecially becauſe we had acquainted them by our Cry, with our Approach; therefore they ſent four of their Old Men to talk to us, and ſee who we were, and what Buſineſs we came upon. They carri'd two Pipes adorn'd with Feathers of ſeveral Colours, which they preſented to the Sun, without ſpeaking a Word. They march'd ſo ſlowly, that we began to be impatient; and when they came near us, they ſtopp'd, and us'd many Ceremonies. We were very glad to ſee them cover'd with Cloth, for thereby we judg'd they were either our Allies, or Friends of our Allies; and therefore I ſpoke to them, and ask'd them who they were? They anſwer'd, That they were *Illinois*, and

presented us their Pipe to smoak, desiring us also to walk to their Habitations. Those Pipes are call'd both by the Savages and *Europeans*, *Calumets*; and therefore I shall make use of their Word for the future, having often occasion to mention these Pipes.

They conducted us to a Cabin, where an Old Man waited for us, in a very extraordinary Posture, which, as I understand since, is the usual Ceremony they use for the Reception of Strangers. This Man stood before the Cabin, having both his Hands lifted up to Heaven, opposite to the Sun, insomuch that it darted its Rays through his Fingers, upon his Face; and when we came near him, he told us, *What a fair Day this is since thou comest to visit us! All our People wait for thee, and thou shalt enter our Cabin in Peace.* Having repeated the Compliment to M. *Joliet*, he conducted us into his Cabin, where abundance of People croweded to see us, keeping however a great Silence, that we heard nothing a great while, but now and then these Words, *You have done well, Brothers, to come and see us.*

As soon as we sat down, they presented us, according to Custom, their *Calumet*, which one must needs accept, for else he shou'd be lookt upon as an open Enemy, or a meer Brute; however, it is not necessary to smoak; and provided one puts it to his Mouth, it is enough. While the Old Man smoak'd in our Cabin to entertain us, the Great Captain of the *Illinois* sent us word to come to his Village, where he design'd to confer with us; and accordingly we went to him, being attended by all the Inhabitants of this Village, who having never seen any *Europeans* before, accompani'd us all the Way. We met that Captain at the Door of his Cabin, in the middle of Ten Old Men; all of them were standing, and each had his *Calu-*

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met towards the Sun. He made us a short Speech, to congratulate our happy Arrival in that Country; and presented us his *Calumet*, wherein we were oblig'd to smoak before we went into his Cabin.

This Ceremony being over, he conducted us, and desir'd us to sit down upon a Mat, and the Old Men of that Nation being present, I thought fit to acquaint them with the Subject of our Voyage, and therefore I told them, 1. That we design'd to visit all Nations that were on that River, down to the Sea. 2. That God Almighty, their Creator, took pity on them, and had sent me to bring them to the Knowledge of his Being, and therefore expected a full Submission from them. 3. That the Great Captain of the *French* had commanded me to tell them, that he had subdu'd the *Iroquese*, and wou'd have every Body to live in Peace. 4. We desir'd them to tell us whatever they knew concerning the Nations we were to meet along the River. We enforc'd every Point of our Speech with a Present, and then sate down. The Captain of the *Illinois* answer'd, That he was very glad to hear of the great Actions of our Captain, meaning the Governor of *Canada*, and desir'd us to remain amongst them, because of the great Dangers to which we shou'd be expos'd in continuing our Voyage; but I told them that we did not fear to lose our Lives for the Glory of God; at which they were mightily surpriz'd. He presented us with a *Calumet*, the most mysterious thing in the World; of which I shall give an Account in another Place.

The Council being over, we were invited to a Feast, which we were oblig'd to accept. The first Mess was a Dish of *Sagamittee*, that is, some Meal of *Indian* Corn boil'd with Water, and season'd with Grease: The Master of Ceremonies holding

a kind of Spoon-full of that *Sagamittee*, put some thrice into my Mouth, and then did the like to M. *Joliet*. They brought for a Second Course, three Fishes in a Dish, whereof he took a Piece, and having took out the Bones, and blown upon it to cool it, he put it into my Mouth, just as a Bird feeds his young ones. The Third Service was a huge Dog, whom they kill'd on purpose; but understanding that we eat no such Creatures; they brought a Piece of Beef, and serv'd us as before.

As soon as we had done, we went to visit the Village, which consists of near three hundred Cabins, being attended by an Officer, to oblige the Savages to make room, and not crowd upon us. They presented us with Girdles and Garters, and some other Works made of the Hair of Bears and Bulls. We lay in the Cabin of the Captain, and the next Day took our Leave of him, promising to return in Four Moons. They conducted us as far as our Canows, with near eight hundred Persons, who express'd an extraordinary Joy for our kind Visit, as they call'd it.

It will not be improper to relate here what I observ'd of the Custom and Manners of this People, which are very different from what is practis'd among the other Nations of the *Northern-America*.

The Word *Illinois* in their Language signifies *Men*, as if they did look upon the other Savages as Beasts; and truly it must be confess'd that they are not altogether in the Wrong, for they have more Humanity than all the other Nations that I have seen in *America*. The short time I remain'd with them, did not permit me to inform my self, as much as I desir'd, of their Customs and Manners; but here is what I was able to observe; They are divided into several Villages, whereof some are very remote from

from thoſe that I have ſeen. They call them *Perouarca*; but as they live ſo far one from the other, their Language is alſo very different. However, it is a Dialect of the *Algonquin*, and therefore we were able to underſtand what they ſaid, and to converſe with them. They are good-natur'd Men, tractable and eaſy: They keep ſeveral Wives, and yet they are exceedingly jealous: They obſerve with great Care their Behaviour; and if they find them in any Fault as to their Chaſtity, they cut off their Noſes and Ears; and I ſaw ſeveral who carry'd upon their Faces the Marks of their Infidelity. The *Illinois* are very well ſhap'd, and very dextrous: They are good Marks-men with their Arrows and ſmall Guns, with which they are ſupply'd by the Savages that have Commerce with the *Europeans*. This makes them formidable to the other Nations inhabiting to the Weſtward, who have no Fire-Arms. The *Illinois* knowing how much they are frighted at the Noiſe of their Guns, make Excurſions very far to the Weſtward, and bring Slaves from thence, which they barter with other Nations for the Commodities they want. Thoſe Nations are altogether ignorant of Iron Tools; and their Knives, Axes, and other Inſtruments, are made of Flints, and other ſharp Stones.

When the *Illinois* go upon any Expedition, the whole Village muſt have notice of it; and therefore they uſe to make an Out-cry at the Door of their Huts the Evening before they go, and the Morning they are to ſet out. Their Captains are diſtinguiſh'd from the Soldiers by Red Scarfs, made with the Hair of Bears or Wild Bulls, that are curiouſly wrought. They have abundance of Game; and their Soil is ſo fertile, that their *Indian* Corn never fails, and therefore they never labour under Famine. They ſow Beans and Melons, which are excellent, and eſpecially thoſe whoſe Seed is Red. They greatly

greatly esteem their Citruls, though they are none of the best. They dry them up, and keep them till the Winter and Spring. Their Cabins are very large; they are made, cover'd, and pav'd with Mats of Marish-Rushes. Their Dishes are of Wood; but their Spoons are made of the Bones of the Skull of Wild-Oxen, which they cut so as to make them very convenient to eat their *Sagamittee*. They have Physicians amongst them, towards whom they are very liberal when they are sick, thinking that the Operation of the Remedies they take, is proportionable to the Presents they make unto those who have prescrib'd them. They have no other Clothes but Skins of Beasts, which serve to cover their Women; for the Men go most of the Year stark-naked. I don't know by what Superstition some of the *Illinois* and *Nadoueſſians* wear Womens Apparel. When they have taken the same, which they do in their Youth, they never leave it off; and certainly there must be some Mystery in this Matter, for they never Marry, and work in the Cabins with Women, which other Men think below them to do. They may go however to their Wars, but they must use only a Club, and not Bows and Arrows, which are fit, as they say, for Men alone. They assist at all the Superstitions of their *Juglers*, and their solemn Dances in honour of the *Calumet*, in which they may sing, but it is not lawful for them to dance. They are call'd to their Councils, and nothing is determin'd without their Advice; for, because of their extraordinary way of Living, they are look'd upon as *Manitous*, or at least for great and incomparable Genius's.

I must speak here of the *Calumet*, the most mysterious thing in the World. The Scepters of our Kings are not so much respected; for the Savages have such a Deference for this Pipe, that one may call it, *The God of Peace and War, and the Arbiter of Life*

Life and Death. One, with this *Calumet*, may venture amongſt his Enemies, and in the hotteſt Engagement they lay down their Arms before this Sacred Pipe. The *Illinois* preſented me with one of them, which was very uſeful to us in our Voyage. Their *Calumet of Peace* is different from the *Calumet of War*; They make uſe of the former to ſeal their Alliances and Treaties, to travel with ſafety, and receive Strangers; and the other is to proclaim War.

It is made of a Red Stone like our Marble; the Head is like our common Tobacco-Pipes, but larger; and it is fixt to a hollow Reed, to hold it for ſmoaking. They adorn it with fine Feathers of ſeveral Colours; and they call it, *The Calumet of the Sun*, to whom they preſent it, eſpecially when they want fair Weather or Rain, thinking that that Planet can have no leſs reſpect for it than Men have, and therefore that they ſhall obtain their Deſires. They dare not waſh themſelves in Rivers in the beginning of the Summer, or taſte the new Fruit of Trees, before they have danc'd the *Calumet*, which they do in the following manner:

This Dance of the *Calumet* is a ſolemn Ceremony amongſt the Savages, which they perform upon important Occaſions, as to confirm an Alliance, or make Peace with their Neighbours. They uſe it alſo to entertain any Nation that comes to viſit them; and in this Caſe we may conſider it as their Balls. They perform it in Winter-time in their Cabins, and in the open Field in the Summer. They chuſe for that purpoſe a ſet Place among Trees, to ſhelter themſelves againſt the Heat of the Sun, and lay in the middle a large Matt, as a Carpet, to lay upon the God of the Chief of the Company, who gave the Ball; for every one has his peculiar God, whom they call *Manitoa*. It is ſometime a Stone, a Bird, a Serpent, or any thing elſe that they dream of in

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their Sleep; for they think this *Manitoa* will supply their Wants, by Fishing, Hunting, and other Enterprizes. To the Right of their *Manitoa* they place the *Calumet*, their Great Deity, making round about it a kind of Trophy with their Arms, *viz.* their Clubs, Axes, Bows, Quivers, and Arrows.

Things being thus dispos'd, and the Hour of Dancing coming on, those who are to sing, take the most Honourable Seats under the Shadow of the Trees, or the Green Arbours they make in case the Trees be not thick enough to shadow them. They chuse for this Service the best Wits amongst them, either Men or Women. Every Body sits down afterwards, round about, as they come, having first of all saluted the *Manitoa*, which they do in blowing the Smoak of their Tobacco upon it, which is as much as offering to it Frankincense. Every Body, one after another, takes the *Calumet*, and holding it with his two Hands, dances with it, following the Cadence of the Songs. This *Preludium* being over, he who is to begin the Dance, appears in the middle of the Assembly, and having taken the *Calumet*, presents it to the Sun, as if he wou'd invite him to smoke. Then he moves it into an infinite number of Postures, sometimes laying it near the Ground, then stretching its Wings, as if he wou'd make it fly, and then presents it to the Spectators, who smoke with it one after another, dancing all the while. This is the first Scene of this famous Ball.

The Second is a Fight, with Vocal and Instrumental Musick; for they have a kind of Drum, which agrees pretty well with the Voices. The Person who dances with the *Calumet*, gives a Signal to one of their Warriours, who takes a Bow and Arrows, with an Ax, from the Trophy already

dy mention'd, and fights the other, who defends himself with the *Calumet* alone, both of them dancing all the while. The Fight being over, he who holds the *Calumet*, makes a Speech, wherein he gives an Account of the Battels he has fought, and the Prisoners he has taken, and then receives a Gown, or any other Present, from the Chief of the Ball. He gives then the *Calumet* to another, who having acted his Part, gives it to another, and so of all others, till the *Calumet* returns to the Captain, who presents it to the Nation invited unto that Feast, as a Mark of their Friendship, and a Confirmation of their Alliance. I can't pretend to be so much Master of their Language as to judge of their Songs, but methinks they are very witty.

We parted from the *Illinois* towards the middle of *June*, about Three a-clock, and fell down the River, looking for another call'd *Pakitanoni*, which runs from the North-West into the *Mississipi*, of which I shall speak anon. As we follow'd the Banks, I observ'd on a Rock a Simple, which I take to be very extraordinary. Its Root is like small Turnips link'd together by some Fibres of the same Root, which tastes like Carrots. From that Root springs a Leaf as large as one's Hand, and about an Inch thick, with some Spots in the middle; from whence spring also some other Leaves, each of them bearing five or six yellow Flowers, like little Bells.

We found abundance of Mulberries as good and as big as ours; and another Fruit which we took at first for Olives, but it tastes like Orange. We found another Fruit as big as an Egg, and having cut it into two Pieces, we found the inside was divided into sixteen, eighteen, and twenty small Cells or Holes, and in each of them a Fruit like our Almonds, which is very sweet, though the Tree stinks: Its Leaves are like our Walnut-Trees. We saw

saw also in the Meadows a Fruit like our Filbirds: The Tree which bears it has its Leaves much broader than ours; and at the End of the Branches there is a kind of a Purse like a *Turnbole*, in which the Filbirds are lock'd up.

Along the Rocks I have mention'd, we found one very high and steep, and saw two Monsters painted upon it, which are so hideous, that we were frighted at the first Sight, and the boldest Savages dare not fix their Eyes upon them. They are drawn as big as a Calf, with two Horns like a Wild-Goat; Their Looks are terrible, though their Face has something of Human Figure in it: Their Eyes are Red, their Beard is like that of a Tyger, and their Body is cover'd with Scales. Their Tail is so long that it goes o'er their Heads, and then turns between their Fore-Legs under the Belly, ending like a Fish-Tail. There are but three Colours, *viz.* Red, Green, and Black; but those Monsters are so well drawn, that I cannot believe that the Savages did it; and the Rock whereon they are painted is so steep, that it is a Wonder to me how it was possible to draw those Figures: But to know to what purpose they were made, is as great a Mystery. Whatever it be, our best Painters wou'd hardly do better.

As we fell down the River, following the gentle Stream of the Waters, and discoursing concerning those Monsters, we heard a great Noise of Waters, and saw several Pieces of Timber, and small floating Islands, which were hudled down the River *Pekitanoni*. The Waters of this River are so muddy, because of the violence of its Stream, that it is impossible to drink of it, and they spoil the Clearness of the *Mississipi*, and make its Navigation very dangerous in this Place. This River runs from the North-West; and I hope to discover, in following its Channel towards its Source,

some

some other River that discharges it self into the *Mar Marvejo*, or the *Caliphornian-Gulph*. The Savages told me, That about six Days Journey from its Mouth, there is a Meadow of thirty Leagues broad, at the end whereof, directly to the North-West, is a small River, which is almost navigable for Canows, and runs to the South-West into a Lake, from which springs a deep River, which runs directly Westward into the Sea, which certainly must be the *Mar Vermejo*; and I hope I shall have, one time or other, the opportunity to undertake that Discovery, to instruct those poor Nations who have been so long ignorant of their Creator. But leaving this Digression, I return to the *Missisipi*.

About 20 Leagves lower than the *Pekitanoni*, we met another River call'd *Ouabouskigou*, which runs into the *Missisipi*, in the Latitude of 36 degrees; but before we arriv'd there, we pass'd through a most formidable Place to the Savages, who believe that a *Manitoa*, or Devil, resides in that Place, to destroy such who are so bold as to come near it. They told us dreadful Stories to deter us from our Undertaking; but this terrible *Manitoa* proves nothing but some Rocks in a turning of the River, about thirty foot high, against whom the Stream runs with a great violence; and being beaten back by the Rocks and Island near it, the Waters make a great noise, and flow with a great rapidity through a narrow Canal, which is certainly very dangerous to unskilful Canow-men. This River *Ouabouskigou* comes from the Eastward; the *Chuoanous* inhabit its Banks, and are so numerous, that I have been inform'd there are thirty eight Villages of that Nation situated on this River. This People is much infested by the *Iroquese*, who make a cruel War upon them without any Provocation, but only because they are

a poor

a poor harmless Nation, unacquainted with any Arms. They take them without any resistance, and carry them into Slavery.

A little above the Mouth of the River, we saw some Downs, wherein our Men discover'd a good Iron-Mine: They saw several Veins of it, and a Lay of about a foot thick. There is also a great quantity of it adhering to the Flints, some of which they brought into our Canow. There is also a kind of fat Earth of three different Colours, *viz.* Purple, Violet, and Red, which turns the Water into a deep Blood-colour. We found also a red Sand very heavy: I put some upon my Oar, which immediately became red; and the Waters could not wash it away for a Fortnight together. We had seen no Reeds or Canes; but they begin to be so thick in this Place, that Wild Bulls can hardly go through them. They grow very high and big, and their Knots are crown'd with several Leaves long and sharp, the greenness whereof is incomparable.

We had not been troubled hitherto with Gnats, but they began to be very troublesome to us a little lower in the *Ouabouskigou*. The Savages who inhabit this Country are oblig'd to build their Huts in a different manner from the other, because of those troublesome Flies. They drive into the Ground big Poles, very near one another, which support a large Hurdle, which serves them instead of a Floor, under which they make their Fire; and the Smoak drives away those Creatures, who cannot abide it. They lay upon that Hurdle, the Roof whereof is cover'd with Skins against the Rain, and serves also to shelter them against the Heat of the Sun. The same Reason oblig'd us to make a Cabin over our Canow.

As we were considering the Country, the Banks of the River being very low, we discover'd several Savages arm'd with Fire-Arms, waiting for us upon the Shoar, where the Stream of the River carri'd us. Our Men prepar'd themselves to fight, and it was resolv'd to let them fire first of all; and as we came near, I spoke to them in the Language of the *Hurons*, and shew'd my *Calumet* of Peace; but they did not answer me, which we took for a Declaration of War. However, we resolv'd to venture to pass; but when they had seen us at a nearer distance, they desir'd us in a friendly manner to come to their Habitations, where they entertain'd us with Beef and Oil of Bears, together with white Plums, as good every whit as ours. These Savages have Guns, Knives, Axes, Shovels, Glass-Beads, and Bottles wherein they put their Gunpowder. They wear their Hair long as the *Iroquese* do, and their Women are cover'd as they are amongst the *Hurons*. They told us, That they were only within Ten Days Journey of the Sea; that they bought those Commodities from *Europeans* who live to the Eastward; that these *Europeans* had Images and Beads; that they play upon Instruments; that some were cloath'd as I was, and that they were very kind to them. However, I could find nothing in them that could persuade me that they had receiv'd any Instructions about our Holy Religion. I endeavour'd to give them a general Idea of it, and presented them with some Medals to put them in mind of it.

The account given us by the Savages was a great Encouragement to us, in hopes to see the Sea in a few Days; and therefore we row'd with an extraordinary vigour. The Banks of the River began to be cover'd with high Trees,

which hinder'd us from observing the Country, as we had done all along; but we judged from the bellowing of the Bulls, that the Meadows are very near. We saw some Quails on the Water-side, and shot a small Parrot, who had the half of his Head red, and the other part and the Neck yellow, and the rest of the Body green. We found our selves in this Place in the Latitude of 33 Degrees, steering directly Southerly; and a little while afterwards we discover'd a Village on the River-side call'd *Michigamea*. The Savages made a great noise, and appear'd in Arms, dividing themselves into three Parties, one of which stood on the Shoar, while the others went into their Wooden Canows, to intercept our Retreat, and prevent our escape. They were arm'd with Bows and Arrows, Clubs, Axes, and Bucklers. Notwithstanding these Preparations, we row'd directly to the Shoar, where their main Body stood; and as we came near, two of their young Warriours flung themselves into the Water to board my Canow, which he would have done, had not the rapidity of the Stream prevented his Design; so that they were forc'd to return a-shore, having thrown at us their Clubs, which by good fortune went over our Heads. I presented my *Calumet* of Peace, but they were so busy that they could not see: However, as they advanc'd in a body to shoot at us, the Old Men discover'd my *Calumet*; whereupon they made an Out-cry, commanding their Youth to stop, and two of them advanc'd to the Water-side, throwing their Arrows and Quivers into our Canow, as a sign of Peace, desiring us by signs to come a-shoar, which we did, though with great apprehensions. I spoke to them in six different Languages,

ges, of which they underſtood none; but they brought an Old Man who ſpoke *Illinois*, whom we told, That we deſign'd to go to the Sea, and made them ſome ſmall Preſents. They underſtood what I told them on this matter; but very little, as I fear, of what I added concerning the CREATOR of the World. They anſwer'd, That we ſhould learn whatever we deſir'd ten Leagues lower, at a great Village call'd *Akamſca*, and preſented us with their *Sagometta*, and ſome Fiſh.

We lay there that Night in great Fears, and the next Morning embark'd again with our Interpreter and ten Savages in one of their Wooden Canows, and met within half a League from *Akamſca* two large Canows full of Savages. The Captain was ſtanding in the firſt, holding his *Calumet*, of which he made ſeveral Motions, according to the Cuſtoms of his Country. I ſtood up likewiſe in my Canow with my *Calumet*, at which they were ſo pleas'd, that they met us with all imaginable Demonſtrations of Joy, attended with Songs and Shouts. They preſented us their *Calumet* to ſmoak, and ſome Bread made of *Indian* Corn, and then return'd home, bidding us to follow him, which we did at ſome diſtance. They had in the mean time prepar'd a kind of Scaffold to receive us, adorn'd with fine Mats; upon which we ſat down, and the Old Men and Warriours near us, the reſt of the People ſtanding off. We found amongſt them a young Man who ſpoke *Illinois* much better than the Interpreter we had brought with us from *Mitchigamea*; and we deſir'd him to acquaint his Nation with the Subject of our Voyage, as he had underſtood it from us. We made him ſome ſmall Preſents, which they receiv'd with great Civility,

and seem'd to admire what I told them concerning GOD, the Creation of the World, and the Providences; telling us by the Interpreter, That they should think themselves very happy, if we would remain with them to teach them.

They told us that we were within five Days Journey from the Sea; but that they were not acquainted with the Nation inhabiting the same; meaning doubtless the *Europeans*; for their Enemies hindred them from keeping any Correspondence with them. They added, That their Axes, Knives, and Glass Beads, had been given them in exchange of other Commodities, by some Nations inhabiting to the Eastward, and by some *Illinois*, who had an Habitation to the Westward within four Days Journey of them: That the Savages whom we had met with Fire-Arms, were their Enemies, who hindred their Commerce with the *Europeans*; and that we should be expos'd to great Dangers, if we did venture to proceed farther, because those Savages were continually cruising on the River. In the mean time, they brought us some *Sagamettea*, with some roasted Corn, and a piece of a Dog.

These Savages are very courteous, and give freely what they have; but their Provisions are but indifferent, because they dare not leave their Habitation to go a Hunting for fear of their Enemies. They have *Indian* Corn in great plenty, and at all times, having three Crops every Year. They roast it, or else boil it in great Pots of Earth, which are curiously made. They go naked, and wear their Hair very short, boring their Ears, which they adorn with Rings of Glass-Beads; but their Women are cover'd with Skins, having their Hair divided into two Tresses,

Treſſes, which they throw behind their Back, without any other Ornament. Their Feaſts are without any Ceremony: They ſerve their Meats in great Diſhes, and every one eats as much as he pleaſes. Their Language is very difficult, and I could never pronounce any Word of it. Their Cabins are made with the Barks of Trees, and are generally very long; they lie at the two ends, their Beds being about two foot higher than the Floor. They keep their Corn in Paniers made of Ruſhes, or in great Gourds. They have no Beavers, and all their Commodities are the Skins of Wild Bulls. It never ſnows in their Country, and they have no other Winter than ſome violent Rains, which makes the only difference between Summer and Winter. They have no other Fruit but Water-Melons, though their Soil might produce any other, did they know how to cultivate it.

They held a Council, wherein ſome propoſed to murther us, becauſe of our Commodities; but their Chief oppos'd that baſe Deſign, and having ſent for us, *danc'd the Calumet* in our Preſence, which he preſented me with, to ſeal our common Friendſhip. M. *Joliet* and I in the mean time call'd our Men together, to adviſe whether we ſhou'd proceed any further, or return home from thence; and having conſider'd that the Gulph of *Mexico* lying in the Latitude of 31 Degrees and 40 Minutes, cou'd be but within three or four Days Journey from the *Akamſca*, and that therefore the *Miſſiſipi* diſcharg'd it ſelf into it, and not to the Eaſtward of the Cape of *Florida*, or into the *Californian-Sea*, as it was expected, it was reſolv'd to return home. We conſider'd likewiſe that the Advantage of our great Voyage wou'd be altogether loſt to our Nation, did we fall into the

hands of the *Spaniards*, from whom we cou'd expect no other Treatment but Death or Slavery; and therefore it was more prudent to content our selves with this Discovery, and make a Report thereof to those who had sent us. So that having rested another Day, we left the Village of the *Akamsca*, on the 17th of *July*, having follow'd the *Missisipi* from the Latitude of 42 to 34, and preach'd the Gospel to the utmost of my Power, to the Nations we visited. We went up the River with great difficulty, because of the Rapidity of the Stream, and left it in the Latitude of 38 Degrees, and went into a River, which conducted us into the Lake of the *Illinois*, which Way is much shorter than the other, by the River *Mescousin*, through which we came.

I never saw a more pleasant Country than the Banks of that River. The Meadows are cover'd with Wild-Bulls, Stags, Wild-Goats; and the Rivers and Lakes with Bustards, Swans, Ducks, Beavers. We saw also abundance of Parrots. Several small Rivers fall into this, which is deep and broad, for 65 Leagues, and therefore navigable almost all the Year long. There is but a *Portage* of half a League into the Lake of the *Illinois*. We found on the Banks of the said River a Village of *Illinois* call'd *Kuilka*, consisting of 74 Cabins. They receiv'd us with all the Kindness imaginable, and oblig'd me to promise that I wou'd return to instruct them, and live in their Country. Their Captain, with most of their Youth, accompani'd us to the Lake of the *Illinois*, from whence we return'd to the Bay of *Puans*; where we arriv'd towards the latter end of *September*, having been about three Months in our Journey.

Although

Although my tedious Journey ſhou'd be attended with no other Advantage than the Salvation of one Soul, I ſhou'd think my Pains ſufficiently rewarded, and I hope I may preſume ſo much; for having preach'd the Goſpel to the *Illinois* of *Perouacca* for three Days together, in our Return, my Words made ſuch an Impreſſion upon that poor People, that as we were embarking, they brought to me a Dying Child, to Chriſten him, which I did about half an Hour before he dy'd, by a ſpecial Providence of God, who was pleas'd to ſave that innocent Creature.

Frequent

Frequent mention having been made in the preceding Journal, of M. du Salles; *it may be expected some Account should be given of his latter Discoveries, the unfortunate Success thereof, and his own Tragical End; which so discourag'd the* French, *that they never made any further Attempt.*

MR. *du Salles*, with divers *French* who did accompany him, fell down to the Mouth of the Great River, where it disembogues it self into the Gulf of *Mexico*; but neither he nor any of his Company understanding Navigation, or wanting Instruments, fanci'd they were in the Latitude of 27 Degrees, whereas really it was 29; and not being able to inform themselves of its Longitude, or distance from the most Westerly End of the Gulf, they presum'd they were within a few Leagues of the River of *Magdalen*, which is 60 Leagues North of the River of *Palms*, and 120 from the River *Panuco*, as it is represented in *Hennepin*'s Chart, and on the Great Globe of *Coronelli*; which great Mistake was the cause of all his Misfortunes: For after his return up the River, and through the Great Lakes to *Canada*, he embrac'd the next Opportunity of returning by Shipping for *France*; where he to the King and his Ministers gave such a favourable Representation of the Country, and Commodities therein contain'd, the Populousness

louſneſs of the Country, Civility of the Inhabitants, far exceeding all the other Natives of *America* they had the Knowledge of; that the King thereupon order'd him a Fleet, and a very conſiderable Equipage, *viz.* a Man of War carrying 56 Guns, a great Fly-boat, a Patache, and a Brigantine, with things convenient for eſtabliſhing a Colony and Traffick with the Natives. This Fleet was Commanded by M. *Beaujeau*, an Experienc'd Sea-Captain, who was Victuall'd for a Year; and M. *du Salles* had under his Command 150 Land-men, who were to ſettle in the Country. The Fleet paſs'd by *Martinico* and *Guardaloupe*, where they took in freſh Proviſion and Water, together with divers Voluntiers; and by M. *du Salle*'s Direrection, ſail'd thence to the North-Weſt end of the Gulf, in 27 Degrees. When they arriv'd there, they were in great Confuſion, not being able to come near the Coaſt of *Florida*, by reaſon of a long Bank Reciff, or as the *French* call it, *Contre-coſte*, which they ſearch'd for ſome hundred Miles. It was no-where above a Musket-ſhot over, and every twenty or thirty Miles there was a Breach, by which the Water iſſu'd out of a vaſt *Lagune*, whoſe breadth they could not learn. They went in their Ship-Boat above forty Miles, and could not gain ſight of the main Land or Continent. This *Lagune* was ſhallow, in ſome Places ſix foot, in few above nine or ten; there are ſcatter'd up and down in it divers ſmall Iſlands, upon one of them they found above four hundred *Indians*, who did not inhabit there, but came accidentally, being upon ſome Expedition. They were all Archers, very proper goodly Men; their Hutts were cover'd with Skins of the wild crook-back Kine, which the *French* call *Peſikieus*, the *Spaniards Corcobades*, or Crook-back. They convers'd and traffick'd very friendly with the *French* divers Weeks, until an unhappy Accident made a great Breach.

M. *du*

M. *du Salles*, against the Opinion of the Pilots, would adventure the Fly-boat through one of the Breaches into the *Lagune*, apprehending he had found a Channel of sufficient depth, through which he might pass to the Continent: But whether the Channel was too shallow, or that they mistook it, the Fly-boat was lost, and the Frigat drawing little Water, escap'd. The *Indians* upon the Island sav'd some small matter of the Wreck, which the *French* would take by force from them: They offer'd in exchange Skins, and such other Commodities as they had. The *French* when they could get no more, took two of their *Piroques*, or large Canows; which being absolutely necessary for them, and without which they could not possibly return to the main Land from whence they came, occasion'd a Skirmish, in which the *French* lost fifteen Men, and the *Indians* many more. M. *du Salles* being almost distracted, not knowing how to find the Mouth of the River, took the Frigat, divers Boats and Pinnaces, together with a hundred and fifty Men, and Provisions for a Month, and cros's'd the *Lagune*, with an intention to search the Coast till he found the Mouth of the Great River. M. *Beaujeau* waited ten Weeks, and heard no Tidings from him, it being in the Heat of Summer. They wanting Water and Provisions, besides abundance of his Men falling Sick of Fevers and Bloody-fluxes, he departed for *France*, without any News of M. *du Salle*; who after he departed from the Ships, rambled some Days in the *Lagune*, and coasted the Main chiefly towards the West; which was directly contrary to the Course he should have taken, the great River being distant above one hundred Leagues to the East. But many believe M. *du Salle* was guilty of a wilful mistake; for he persuaded his Men, That since they could not find the River, and were come to the River of St. *Magdalen*, being the North-

Westerly

Westerly end of the Gulf, which was not above two hundred Leagues from the rich Mines of *Endehe*, *Santa Barbara*, *la Parale*, and others in the Province of *Saceatecas*, where the *Spaniards* are few, and not Warlike, they could not fail of rich and easy Booty. This Proposition occasion'd a great Division amongst his Men, and deadly Feuds: One part were ready to comply with his Project; others for returning to their Ships; a third Party for searching the Continent towards the East, till they found the Great River, and then return and Pilot the Ship thither, and pursue their Instructions of Planting and Trading. From Words they came to Blows; many were kill'd in the Scuffle, and amongst others, M. *du Salle* very treacherously by one of his pretended Friends. Upon his Death they divided, and took several Courses. They that return'd to seek the Ship, found it departed, and were never heard of since; others scatter'd, some Easterly, some Westerly, and Northerly. When I receiv'd this Account, which was above three Years after this disastrous Expedition, not above Six were return'd to *Canada*, and amongst them M. *du Salle*'s Brother.

So that the Providence of Almighty GOD seems to have reserv'd this Country for the *English*, a Patent whereof was granted above Fifty Years ago to the Lords Proprietors of *Carolina*, who have made great Discoveries therein, seven hundred Miles Westerly from the Mountains, which separate between it *Carolina* and *Virginia*, and Six hundred Miles from North to South, from the Gulf of *Mexico* to the great Inland Lakes, which are situated behind the Mountains of *Carolina* and *Virginia*. Besides, they have an Account of all the Coast, from the Cape of *Florida* to the River *Panuco*, the Northerly Bounds of the *Spaniards* on the Gulf of *Mexico*, together with most of the chief Harbours, Rivers,

and

and Islands thereunto appertaining; and are about to establish a very considerable Colony on some part of the Great River, so soon as they have agreed upon the Boundaries, or Limits, which the Lords Proprietors of *Carolina*, who claim by a Patent procur'd long after that of *Carolana*. But there being space enough for both, and the Proprietors generally inclin'd to an Amicable Conclusion, the Success of this Undertaking is impatiently expected: For considering the Benignity of the Climate, the Healthfulness of the Country, Fruitfulness of the Soil, Ingenuity and Tractableness of the Inhabitants, Variety of Productions, if prudently manag'd, it cannot, humanly speaking, fail of proving one of the most considerable Colonies on the North-Continent of *America*, profitable to the Publick and the Undertakers.

POST-SCRIPT.

I Am inform'd a large Map, or Draught, of this Country is preparing, together with a very particular Account of the Natives, their Customs, Religion, Commodities, and Materials for divers sorts of Manufactures, which are by the *English* procur'd at great Expence from other Countries.

FINIS.

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